

THE  
**Catholic Balance :**  
 OR A  
**DISCOURSE**  
 Determining the  
**CONTROVERSIES**  
 CONCERNING

- I. *The Tradition of Catholic Doctrines.*
- II. *The Primacy of S. Peter and the Bishop of Rome.*
- III. *The Subjection and Authority of the Church in a Christian State : According to the Suffrages of the primeſt Antiquity.*

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Written with moſt Impartial Sincerity at the  
 Requeſt of a private Gentleman.

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DEUT. XXXII. 7.

*Remember the days of old, conſider the years of many Generations : ſay  
 thy Father, and he will ſhew thee ; thy Elders, and they will teach thee.*

Polycarp Ep. ad Philippenſ.

*Αὐτὸ ἀπαμύνητε τὴν μαλακίαν τῶν πολλῶν, ἣ τὰς ἀδελφιδευτείας, ὅτι τὸ ἐξ  
 ἀρχῆς ἡμῶν μελετῶμεν ἅπαντες ὁμολογεῖσθαι.*

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Maij 24.  
1687.

*Hen. Maurice R<sup>mo</sup> in  
Christo Patri ac D.D.  
Wilhelmo Archiep. Cant.  
a Sacris.*



# THE PREFACE.

**I**T is a way as generally useful, as usual, with most Writers, to give some Prefatory Accounts of the Reason and Uses of their Undertakings, which Custom it may not be impertinent in me to follow. It hapned therefore about the beginning of May, Anno 1686. that being engaged in very worthy Company, I was pressed by a private Gentleman to answer him some Questions, which he had formed out of the Appendix to Popery Misrepresented and Represented, entituled, Roman Catholic Principles in reference to God and the King. And tho' I declared my self a perfect Stranger to the Pontifical Controversies, thro' an aversness to such litigious and barren Studies, and so unqualified for such a Service, yet the importunity of my Friend, and the concurrent persuasions of the Clergy, and others then present, prevailed with me so far, as to consider what Solutions might readily and authentically be given to those Questions out of my beloved reading of Antiquity. Which when I had collected, and digested, and communicated to the Judgment of grave and learned Censors, and found the Essay to be grateful to them, and by them thought of public use,

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*I was easily induced to adventure it abroad, thro' a confidence, not in any Abilities of my own, but of the Authorities on which it stands.*

*For I must profess, that for my own part, I think no man of any literate Education could have an Understanding more infant and naked, as to all the intricate Sophistries that perplex and entangle this Cause, than I had, even till the time that the Book was finished. Which Confession, tho' it may expose me to the Censure of Rashness, and Men may more admire my Simplicity in detecting my own Weakness and Precipitancy, yet when it shall appear to others, as it hath to me, that without Consultation with any Man living, or any one Modern Writing whatsoever upon these Subjects, by the mere force of Truth, and evidence of prime Authorities, I have exactly drawn the same Conclusions, and given the same Determinations, as to all the Substance of the Controversie, with the most accurate and impartial Authours of our Church, or elsewhere, that give due deference to the Authority of the Fathers: this very simplicity of mine will be a certain presumption for the Truth of the Discourse from its unconsulted Consonancy with the Senses of the Wise and Learned. So that since my very Meanness becomes an Argument to the Integrity of my Principles, and the Cause of God, I am not troubled at any diminution of my Person, for my Business is the benefit of others, and no empty Reputation of my own. And I shall be mighty joyful in the Goodness of God, if he verifies that in me, That out of the mouths of Babes and Sucklings he hath ordained strength, that he may still the Enemy and the Avenger.*

*But yet, that which I may without Ostentation, or breach of Humility, truly say, to give the Reader a strong hope of finding in me a constant Sincerity thro-*  
*out*

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out the whole Treatise, I will not here dissemble; viz. That this Book (as inartificial as it is) did not immediately, and easily escape into the Public, as soon as it was offered, but hath lain a long time under most accurate and deliberate Consideration, and hath passed from Hand to Hand the Test and Approbation of several as great, able, and authentic Judgments, and (which is no small comfort to me) endeared me to several as Reverend, Sacred, and Learned Names, as perhaps are in the whole Nation.

Having thus endeavoured to raise in the Reader a previous Confidence of finding Truth and Satisfaction in me, in the next place I shall give him a particular Description of the purpose of each Chapter.

The first CHAPTER then being wholly spent about the Tradition of Catholic Doctrines, aims at three things: First, To assert the Use and Necessity of such Tradition, subordinate to, and descending from the Scriptures, against all Infidelity and Heretical Innovations. Secondly, To shew what were the Ancient, and what are the yet remaining Methods of prescribing Tradition against imposturous Doctrines. And thirdly, That this Privilege of Prescription is the Common Right of every Christian Church, and Person, as much as of the Church, and Bishop of Rome.

The second CHAPTER undertakes to explain the Primacy of S. Peter, either by the Constitution of Christ, or Apostolical Concession, and that consuetudinary Primacy which the Bishops and Church of Rome had of old antecedently to any Synodical or Im-

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*Imperial Charter; because this only is capable of the pretence of Divine Right, which is now challenged for the Papal Supremacy. In which Chapter I presume I have given an Account abundantly sufficient, what really was the Primitive Dignity of the See of Rome.*

*The third CHAPTER engages in a tender, but very useful Subject, necessary to be carefully considered, not only by private Consciences, but the most Sacred and most Sovereign Powers, to avoid those Injuries, which an exorbitant use, or usurpation of Power, inflicts upon the Peace, and Sanctity, and Integrity of Religion: In which I have endeavoured to fix such Bars, as may for ever exclude all those base-born Doctrines, or Principles, that are by any party of Men projected to pamper any Princes, Popes, or Populacies in their unequal Impositions, or Usurpations on the State Ecclesiastical. But if any Man thinks, that I have a design of Flattery in advancing the Dignity, Grandeur, and Freedom of the Hierarchy, as constituted in our Church, I suppose I shall need no Compurgators to convince him of the contrary, if he doth but consider, that it is but an ill-timed Design to flatter Bishops of the Church of England, that have so many active and unrestrained Enemies, and that they are in general so good Men, and wise too, as not to admit such Doctrines of Assentation, which are notoriously false, and easily refutable. But beside, I speak such great things abstractedly of the Hierarchy it self, as of Divine and Apostolical Original, not of any particular Persons intrusted in it: And I think no Man of any Religion hath impudence enough to decry the very Essence of a Divine and Apostolic Hierarchy to be of base*

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*base and naturally servile Constitution, or of less dignity than the Fathers by me cited have ascribed to it. I shall not think fit to add any thing more, but my earnest Prayers to the God of Truth, that he would emancipate Mankind from the Snarcs of self-ended, contentious, and vain-glorious Men, rescuing them from all the Powers of Darkneſs, and the evil World, for our Lord Jeſus Chriſt his ſake. Amen.*

T.H.E.

# A Catalogue of Authors Cited in the following Treatise.

<b>A</b> bdias Babylonius.	Hieronymus.
Ambrosius.	Hilarius.
Arnobius.	Ignatius.
Athenagoras.	Iosephus.
Augustinus.	Iustinus Martyr.
Basilus Magnus.	Lactantius.
Canones Apostolici.	Maximus.
Constitutiones Apostolicæ.	Origines.
Clemens Romanus, Epist. 1.	Philo Judæus.
ad Corinthios.	Polycarpus.
Clemens Alexandrinus.	Prudentius.
Chrysostomus.	Rufinus.
Ephræm Syrus.	Socrates.
Epiphanius.	Sozomenus.
Eusebius Pamphili.	Symmachus Papa.
Evagrius.	Tertullianus.
Faustinus.	Theodoretus.
Firmilianus.	Theophilus Antiochenus.
Gregorius Nyssenus.	Vincentius Lirinensis.
Gregorius Nazianzenus.	Xiphilinus Epitome Dionis.

T H E



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# THE CATHOLIC BALANCE.

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## CHAP. I.

### *Of the Tradition of Catholic Doctrines.*

#### § 1.

S I R,  
**W**ITH what design, or on what motives you gave your self the trouble to collect those Positions of Romish Doctrine, or why you should offer them to me for a Solution, as you discovered not to me, so I cannot take upon me to conclude, Whether it be to satisfy your self, or to hear what we of the English Church either think, or dare to say of the things that are now again become litigious between us and those of the Roman Communion. But I must tell you, that you have committed them to a Man, that never delighted, nor travelled in the Modern Controversies about the Papacy, but only having  
B gotten

gotten to my self a Collection of the several Doctrines that have divided the Catholic Unity, have betaken my self to the Primitive Antiquity, to find what the Senses of our Fathers universally were in all Theological and momentous Doctrines: And a short Abstract of what I have hitherto met with in them, relating to the Questions here offered, I shall summarily and faithfully present you withal, without any partiality or unequal respect to any Interest or Authority, but what is truly Catholic and Original, as being (a) the only Test, by which all Modern Opinions, Disputations, and Constitutions in matter of Religion, can be fairly adjusted, and to which we must recurr against the fraud and vanity of Innovations. And as I have been thus upright in the assertion of Truth, so do I as sincerely affect the Churches universal peace and redintegration for the preservation of it, and for that cause do wish that all Writers on both sides of the Division would write with such a Christian temper of mind, which may suffer no confusion at the final Judgment of God, neither palliating either Falsities or Impieties for Rules of Truth or Devotion, nor prosecuting any Points in difference with odious charges or imputations, that are any wise capable of innocent or allowable constructions. For tho, as long as the Papal Monarchy or Infallibility is maintained by the Romanists, and our Statutes of Dissolution and Præmunire are in force in *England*, it is impossible to imagine any Methods of Reconciliation; yet Justice and Sincerity in Authors, delivering their Senses in these kind of Debates, will be of great advantage to the Faith and Piety of private Readers and Students, to extricate them from the guilt of Schism, which is difficult to be avoided in a religious War, which no man must wage but with most passionate affections of Peace, with most tender and compassionate Bowels even to the  
erring

(a) Polycarp.  
ad Philipp.

erring and obstinate Adversary. With this temper of mind have I set upon the following Discourse, dearly lamenting the Divisions of the Christian World; and tho' I must expect nothing but Thunder and Lightning from almost all Parties of Men in the World upon the publication of these Medicinal Dictates, yet I have, and by the Grace of God will entertain all Opponents and Oppositions, how malevolent soever they be, with Meekness and insuperable Charity, (b) and all the Offices of Piety, which S. Ignatius requires us to use toward Heretics, as intending to wound no mans person, or just interest, but only as far as I can to cleanse the minds of men from those Prejudices which have reflected contempt and dishonour on that blessed Name wherewith we are dignified, and by which alone we can be saved,

(b) Ignat. Ep ad Eph. Προς τὰς ἐρχοῦς αὐτῶν ὑμῶν πρὸς τὰς μαχαλοῦρημοσύνας αὐτῶν ὑμῶν ταπεινότητες, πρὸς τὰς βλασφημίας αὐτῶν ὑμῶν τὰς πρὸς δόξαν, πρὸς τὴν πλάνην αὐτῶν ἰδεῖσθαι τῇ πίστει, πρὸς τὴν ἀγνοίαν αὐτῶν ὑμῶν ἡμετέρας καὶ σπουδαίοντες ἀλλήλων τὴν ἀγάπην, οὕτως αὐτοὺς ἀγαθῶς καὶ ἐπιμελῶς τῇ ἐπιμελίᾳ, ἡμετέρας δὲ καὶ ἐκείνους σπουδαίοντες εἶναι.

§ 2. That then, which in the Matters herein to be examined is the fundamental evil, is the natural Disease of great Parts and Spirits, the ambitious thirst of Power and Dominion, under the ardour of which they are so impatient, that they not only nimbly seize the possession of it, wheresoever it seems vacant in the weakness of their Neighbours, without any regard to Justice or Honesty, but also attempt all the Force and Fraud imaginable to oppress and usurp the most just and sufficient, and useful settlement of it in its due Proprietors. But among all the various competitions for Power and Greatness, none are more vigorous than those that contest for the Ecclesiastic Empire, it being no adequate scope for Human Insolence to enjoy Dominion over the External Interests of Men, except they can also invade the Kingdom of the Son of God, and Lord it over the Souls of their Brethren, and bend the Pastoral Charge to all the ministeries of sacrilegious Lusts, to bear the yoke of mortal Tyranny instead of that of Christ. Now the

§ 2.

circumstances we are in, in the present state of our Affairs, having revived the old Claims and Clamours for the Sovereignty of the Roman See over all the Ecclesiastic Body, we are invited to re-embrace it with all the most recommending and inducing pretences imaginable. For to this purpose the Advocates for the Roman Church style it the *Church Catholic*, for the universal and absolute Dominion whereof, they alledge the Suffrage and Tradition of the Universal Church, (which yet all the while in their Sense is but their own, and so no competent Judge or Witness for its own Monarchy) and the representative Authority of Councils, General and Provincial, all which make a great noise to the unlearned and injudicious, how inartificially or incoherently soever they are challenged and alledged.

§ 3. Now as your Questions are digested, I find the first method to subject our Faith to the Roman Authority, is by a smooth and sensible Asseveration, viz. *That we are to submit to the Doctrine of the Catholic Church communicated to all Nations, and visibly continued in the Succession of Pastors and People throughout all Ages*, Chap. 1. Quest. and Answ. 6. But then comes on the main design in the seventh Question, viz *Where, or which is that Church?* And the Answer is, *It is the Church of Rome, being qualified with Unity, Indeficiency, Visibility, Succession, Universality, and Independency, which are not applicable to any other Church.*

§ 4. Now as to the first Proposition, I do avowedly acknowledge, That every Christian by the Laws of Christianity, and by an Article of his Faith in the Catholic Church, is obliged to receive and profess the Faith, and submit to the Doctrines of the Catholic Church, which she uniformly in all Ages, and particular Churches, teacheth us to be necessary to attain unto the Kingdom of Heaven, and substantial in Christianity,

i. e.

i. e. of principal weight in the life of a Christian, and the subsistence of the Churches, both visible and spiritual Integrity. For without this we can maintain no constant Succession of Faith, nor the Fundamental Ordinances or Regularities of a Christian Life. And this is so obvious and fair a Truth, that no intelligent Christian can suspect, nor any man oppose it without the Guilt of Heresie. All the difficulty in the Dispute is, What certain Mark or Character we have to distinguish Doctrines Universal, and of Fundamental Importance, from such as are private, and less necessary. For tho the Protestant Authors do truly aver, (c) That the Scriptures are a perfect Organ declarative of all Things or Truths necessary to Salvation, and indeed innumerable more, to the advancement both of Knowledge and Piety, notwithstanding what (d) hath perished of the ancient Monuments of the Prophets, &c. by the negligence and wickedness, or misery of the Jews; yet we must grant that those Doctrines, that are universally to be maintained and professed, are not in the Scriptures all distinctively separated from other less momentous Revelations, by any Mark or Catalogue, declaring these to be Doctrines of chiefest Dignity and Universal use, and the rest Private. And therefore for this certain discrimination we must refer our selves to some other Criterion.

§ 5. There are therefore of the Catholic Principles of Christianity two Classes, viz. the Moral and Mystical. The Moral suggest unto us the Senses and Rational Dictates of true Vertue and Piety to the highest degree of practicable excellency, such as are every where interspersed thro the Holy Scriptures, but summarily comprised in most ravishing and stupendious Precepts in the fifth, sixth, and seventh Chapters of St. Matthews Gospel: The Superlative Divinity of which is so illustrious

(c) *Iren. adv. hæres. l. 2. c. 42. Chrys. in Psal. 95.*

(d) *Iust. Mart. Dialog. cum Tryph. Chrys. Hom. 9. in Matt. c. 2. & in 1 ad Cor. c. 2. Hom. 7.*

§ 5:



(c) Τρυφῶν in *stirious and admirable*, (e) that the learned Jew *Trypho* thinks them above all possibility of observation, nor understanding the assistances of the Holy Spirit sealed unto us in our Regeneration, to make that easie, which is otherwise impossible with Man. Now of the native goodness and necessity of these Moral Institutions (f), the natural and common Notions of all Men are the certain and most uniform demonstration, to which we must have recourse, as in other Speculations, so most chiefly in these foundations of Morality. For the grace and vertue of such Dictates, being of it self intrinsically manifest in the Word of God, is the Test by which God submits the equity of his own ways to human censure, (*Ezek. 18. and Ezek. 33. and elsewhere*) and the cause why all the Preachers and Auditors of the Church of God do so universally and uniformly profess and reverence them.

(f) Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 8. Ε-  
χομῆντι γὰρ  
καὶ ἡμεῖς ὡς  
τοὺς τῶν γε-  
νητῶν τῶν θε-  
ων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν  
ἀγγέλων τῶν  
καὶ τοῦ πνεύ-  
ματος τοῦ  
θεοῦ, οἷον π

§ 6.

§ 6. The second sort of Doctrines that are of universal use and importance, are the Mystical; which are also of two ranks or orders. The first, such as are universally necessary in order to Baptism, Confirmation, and the reception of the Eucharist, the entire Christianity of the Laity. The second are those Theological and mysterious Doctrines, as are absolutely necessary to the Doctoral Office, and to the whole Society of Ecclesiastic Doctors: As concerning the Canons of Interpretation, the fundamental Maxims, and principal Arguments, and Theories against Gentilism, Judaism, Heresie, and all dangerous Error. These are universally necessary, not to the just integrity of every Christian, which may subsist without them, but to the whole fraternity of Spiritual Doctors, in whom a defect in these Principles is not only vitious and culpable, but creates an incompetency of so great a Charge and Dignity.

§ 7.



§ 7. Now these mysterious Doctrines of both these Orders, both of Popular Faith, and Doctoral Wisdom, in what our natural Sentiments cannot reach, have no other discriminative Mark for their respective Universality, Necessity, and Principality, (g) but only a certain, manifest, concordant, primitive Tradition, continued to the Church by Oral Professions, (h) diligent Institutions, Synods, and (i) Symbolical Practices, in the violation of which Doctrines of either Classis, so variously delivered to the notice of Posterity, consists the formal Guilt and Nature of Heresie or Infidelity.

§ 8. We begin then with the Principles of that Faith that is universally Universal, and consider the general and perpetual uniformity of its Tradition. Now these are those Articles of Apostolic Faith summed up in those Traditional Creeds, that were in use before the Council of Nice: (of which that was a secure Explication in the Matters there disputed;) the sense of which was uniformly taught the Catechumens by their Priests and Doctors, by which they explicitly understood all the fundamental Mysteries of the common Christianity summarily comprehended in those Creeds, by which they became compleatly competent for Baptism, and the other consequent Mysteries of the Church. All which Creeds, according to all the Homilies and popular Interpretations, tho' they are varied a little as to the literal Apices of the words, yet are exactly adequate as to the things and senses intended in them, without any defect, redundancy, or ambiguity, to the full tenor of what is taught and received in the Creed called the Apostles: tho' this hath admitted for Explications sake, and in bar to arising Heresies, Errours, or Ignorance, some additional Expressions since the *Nicene formula*, delivering the Christian and Catholic Sense of our Profession, wherein notwithstanding all the various accuracy in composing several

§ 7.  
(g) *Iren. adv. hæret. l. 4. & l. 5. Præf. & c. 20. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 6. & 7. Orig. in Matt. c. 24. Hom. 29. Basil. in Eps. c. 10. Cyp. Ep. 63. Lat. Div. Inst. l. 5. de Just. l. 1. c. 3. Euseb. Dem. Evang. l. 1. c. 8. Epiph. de hæres. Hæret. 55, 61, 77.*

§ 8.  
(h) *Euseb. Cæs. apud Sac. Eccl. Hist. l. 1. c. 7. (i) Tert. de Coron. Milit. Basil. ad Amphil. c. 27. Chrys. in 2 Thess. c. 3. Hom. 4. & alibi.*

several Breviaries of a Plenary and Regular Confession, we find none of those Positions inserted as matter of Faith, which since have been imposed on the Vulgar for such in order to the Ecclesiastical Communion and their Eternal Salvation, and have created so much Contention in the Church of God. Now if any man can find it the unanimous Assertion of all, or many of the ancient Creeds, being either true, or but false Explications of the Creed Apostolic, that the Pope is infallible, or the one only Ecclesiastic Monarch, that the Substance of the consecrated Elements is ceased, that Papal Indulgences or Mortal Suffrages dismiss Souls out of Purgatory, that it is sufficient for the Laity to receive the Sacrament in one kind, that it is necessary to invoke Saints at their Images erected in Temples, &c. or make it appear out of the Writings of all the Fathers extant, that these were Popular Doctrines delivered by them as the essential Sense of the Original Creeds, he may safely conclude or conjecture these things to be Fundamentals in Christianity; if not, I cannot see how we can be charged on pain of Damnation to believe that of which we have no footsteps in the Scriptures or the primitive Monuments, which yet are very copious in the elucidation of the *Faith which was once delivered unto the Saints*. To manifest then the Original Uniformity of Faith throughout the Catholic Church, I shall exhibit you five primitive Breviaries of Faith from *Italy, Syria, Africa, Cappadocia, and France*; which will be a just Motive to believe the like Harmony in all other Churches, except any positive *Formulae* of another or more comprehensive Intention can be produced in any the Remains or Records of any sound part of the Church Catholic in the Primitive Ages.

§ 9.  
(k) *Ruffin. Ex-  
pos. in Symb. A-  
post.*

§ 9. I begin then with the Apostles Creed, according to the most ancient Form in use at *Aquileia* in *Italy* (k):

*I believe in God the Father Almighty: And in Christ Jesus his only Son our Lord: Who was born thro' the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary: Crucified under Pontius Pilate, and buried, he descended into Hell [in Inferna]: The third day he arose again from the dead: he ascended into Heaven, sitteth at the right hand of the Father: From thence he shall come to judge the quick and dead: And in the Holy Ghost, the Holy [Catholic] Church: The remission of Sins: the resurrection of this Flesh.*

§ 10. The second Breviary of Fundamental Faith, with some Evangelical History and Apostolical Exposition admixt, shall be that which *S. Thaddæus*, commissioned by Christ, promised *Abgarus* King of *Edessa* in *Syria*, to preach to him and his People, recited out of the *Syriac* Archives of that most Christian City (1) by *Eusebius Pamphili*, Wherein they were instructed concerning the coming of Christ how it was, and concerning his Mission for what cause he was sent by the Father, and concerning the power of his Works, and the Mysteries which he spake in the World, and with what power he did those things, and concerning his new Doctrine, (wherein was performed the Office of both Evangelist and Catechist,) and concerning his Meanness, and the Poverty and Humiliation of him that externally appeared a Man, and how he humbled himself, and dyed, and lower'd his Godhead, how many things he suffered of the Jews, and how he was crucified, and descended into Hell, [*οὗ τοῦ κόσμου*] and cleft asunder the Prison, that had not been broken before from the beginning, and rose again, and raised with him the dead that had slept from the beginning, and how he descended alone, but ascended with a great multitude to his Father, and how he sitteth at the right hand of God, even the Father, with glory in the Heavens, and how he shall come again with glory and power to judge the quick and dead. Wherein is contained expressly the whole Faith

§ 10.

(1) *Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. i. c. 12.*

as to the Deity of the Father and the Son, and the Mediatory Oeconomies of the Incarnate Son of God, with proper Explications interjected about Christ's descent into Hell: (which some of late have misinterpreted, and others disbelieved thro' ignorance, that before our Lord's Resurrection the common Notion of Death (either Natural or Traditional) implied a descent of the Soul into the Infernal Regions). And what was before indefinitely promised to be explained, made up no doubt the whole entire Faith with full and Catholic Expositions.

§ 11.

§ 11. The third *Formula* shall be the *African* described by *Tertullian*, when indeed a Montanist, but averring that by the *Paraclete* of *Montanus* they more firmly adhered to the Catholic Faith than the Catholics themselves. (m) *We believe indeed one only God with this dispensation, (an odd word) that his Word is the Son of that only God, who proceeded from him, by whom all things were made, and without whom nothing was made: That he was sent by the Father into the Virgin, and that he was born of her, being both Man and God, the Son of Man, and the Son of God, and surnamed Jesus Christ: That he suffered, that he was dead, and buried according to the Scriptures, and raised again by the Father, and being received into Heaven, sitteth at the right hand of the Father, and shall hereafter come to judge the quick and dead. Who according to his promise sent the Paraclete from the Father, the Holy Spirit, the Sanctifier of the Faith of them that believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. And that this Rule descends from the beginning of the Gospel, &c.*

(m) *Tert. adv. Praxeam. vid. lib. Præscript.*

(n) *Tert. de ve. land. virg.*

Which System of Faith being by him (n) more abbreviated, with the explicate Position of the Resurrection of the Flesh, he averreth elsewhere to be the only immoveable and irreformable Rule of Faith.

§ 12.

§ 12. The fourth *Formula* shall be a *Cappadocian* one, framed indeed after the Council of Nice by S. Ba-

fil

fil the Great, but averred to be the plain Faith of every honest and sincere Christian in distinction from those more critical Forms devised against Heretical Subtilties.

(o) *We believe therefore and confess one only true and good God, and Father Almighty, of whom are all things, the God and Father of our Lord and God: and his one only begotten Son our Lord and God Jesus Christ, the only true, by whom all things were made, as well visible as invisible, and in whom all things consist: who in the beginning was with God, and was God, and after according to the Scriptures was seen on Earth, and conversed with men. Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but emptied himself, and by his Nativity of the Virgin took on him the form of a Servant, and was found in fashion as a Man, and fulfilled all things which were written of him according to the command of the Father, being made obedient even unto death, even the death of the Cross: And being the third day raised from the dead, he was seen by his holy Disciples, and the rest, as it is written: and ascended into the Heavens, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father: from whence he shall come at the end of this World to raise up all, and to render unto every one according to his Works, when the righteous shall be taken up into life eternal, and the Kingdom of Heaven, but sinners shall be condemned to eternal punishment, where their worm shall not dye, nor the fire be quenched: And one only holy Spirit, the Paraclete, by which we are sealed unto the day of Redemption, the Spirit of Truth, the Spirit of Adoption, by which we cry Abba Father, who distributeth, and operateth the gifts given of God to every one as he will to profit withal, and confirmeth all the faithful unto true and exact knowledge, and the pious worship of God and Spiritual Adoration, and the true Confession of God the Father, and of his only begotten Son our Lord and God Jesus Christ, and of himself, &c.*

(o) Basil. Alect. Serm. de Fide.



(p) *Iren. adv.*  
*Hærl. l. c. 2.*

(q) *Iren. l. 1. c. 3.*

§ 13. The fifth Model of Primitive Faith shall be that of S. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, and Metropolitan of the Gallic Churches. (p) The Church, saith he, *altho dispersed thro the whole World, even to the ends of the Earth, having received, from the Apostles and their Disciples, the Faith in one God the Father Almighty, that made Heaven and Earth, and the Sea, and all things in them: And in one Christ Jesus the Son of God, who was Incarnate for our Salvation: And in the Holy Spirit, who by the Prophets declared the Oeconomies and appearances of God, and the Nativity of the Virgin, and his Suffering, and Resurrection from the dead, and the bodily Ascension of the beloved Christ Jesus our Lord into the Heavens, and his coming again from Heaven in the glory of the Father to recapitulate all things, and to raise all Flesh of all Mankind, that to Christ Jesus, our Lord, and God, and Saviour, and King, every knee may bow of things (or persons) in Heaven, or in Earth, or under the Earth, (viz. in the Regions of the Dead, or Hell) and every Tongue confess unto him, and that he may pass just Judgment upon all, and cast into eternal Fire the spiritual Wickednesses, the transgressing Angels, that are in a state of Apostacy, and the impious and unjust Law-breakers and Blasphemers amongst Men, but may give Immortality and eternal Glory to the Just and Holy, to those that keep his Commandments, and either from the beginning, or after Repentance continue in his love.* (q) This Doctrine and Faith the Church having, as I have aforesaid, received, tho scattered thro all the World, carefully preserveth, as living in one House, and uniformly believes these things, as having one Soul and one Heart, and harmoniously preacheth them, and teacheth the Tradition, as having but one Mouth. For the Dialects indeed of the World are unlike, but the force of the Tradition is one and the same. And neither have the Churches planted in



in Germany believed, or do deliver the Faith otherwise, nor in Spain, nor among the Celtic's, nor in the East, nor in Egypt, nor in Lybia, nor in the Mediterranean World, but as the Sun, the Creature of God, is one and the same in the whole World, so the preaching of the Gospel appeareth every where, and enlighteneth all men willing to come to the knowledge of the Truth: and neither will be, that is exceeding mighty in the Word among the Governours of the Church, speak other things than these, for no Man is above his Master, nor will be, that is weak in the Word, diminish the Tradition: For there being but one and the same Faith, neither he, that is very powerful to speak of it, hath received more, nor he that is less able, less. So that the Church of God, as it is visibly united by the Sacraments, and Hierarchical Offices, so is it spiritually united in the Faith, which it hath uniformly received in the sense of these *Formula*, wheresoever Christianity hath set footing.

§ 14. And now I should come to aver, and describe the universality of its Tradition, but that I think it necessary before to give you the primitive Exposition and Sense of the Apostles Creed, proportionate to the Faith and Profession of Competents to be baptized, to the end you may see, whether those Points disputed between Us and the Romanists, by me mentioned above in the eighth Section, were Popular or Fundamental Articles of the common Christianity. (r) S. Augustin therefore, in a Sermon to the Competents for Baptism on a Good-friday, calls the Apostolic Symbol *the Plenitude of Believers*, for that whatsoever is prefigured in the Patriarchs, whatsoever is declared in the Scriptures, whatsoever is foretold by the Prophets concerning the unbegotten God, or of the only begotten God of God, or of the Holy Spirit, although but occultly indicated: or of the Mystery of the Incarnation, Death and Resurrection of the Lord, is all contained

§ 14.

(r) August. de  
Temp. Serm.  
131. in Para-  
cev. Feriâ 6. De  
Expos. Symb. ad  
Compet. Ser. 2.

contained in the Creed: which having recited in the exact Form now in use, he thus teacheth the Competents the Sense of it. In the first place it hath I believe. Our Lord biddeth us not to discuss, but believe his determinations. In God the Father: He joyneth in the Confession the Name of Father, to shew that he was not first God: and after the Father, but ever God and Father without any beginning. Therefore because he was always Father, therefore he always had a Son whose Father he is. He is therefore called Almighty, because nothing is impossible to him, as creating all things, not by any labour, but by the meer command of his word, and therefore called Maker of Heaven and Earth, &c. And in Jesus Christ his Son. We must believe, as in the Father, so in the Son, as being of equal and equally adorable Majesty with the Father. Jesus is interpreted Saviour: he is called Christ from anointing: because as the ancient Kings were anointed by the Priests with holy Oyl, so our Lord Jesus Christ was filled with the Infusion of the Holy Ghost. Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost. — born of the Virgin Mary. She must needs have such a Conception that was to remain a Virgin after her Birth. Suffered under Pontius Pilate, the Præfect of Judæa, mentioned for the memorial of the time, not Pilate's dignity. Crucified and buried. That Cross, on which he was crucified in the Body, we wear in our Forehead. Was buried. As truly born, so truly dead and buried. The third day he rose again: The continuance in three days sepulture, evidently sheweth, that while the Body lay in the Sepulchre, that Soul of his triumphed over Hell. He ascended to Heaven: i.e. The state of our Nature, which he assumed in his being born of a Woman, he placed above the Heavens at the right hand of God. From thence he shall come to judge the quick and dead. He shall come to judgment in that very Body in which he ascended to Heaven. And shall judge Christians,  
and

and Pagans, just men, and sinners, faithful and ungodly. I believe also in the Holy Ghost: We must believe, as in the Father, so in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost. For he that shall not believe in but one Person of the Trinity, it will not profit him to believe in the two others. **The Holy Catholic Church.** We must believe the Church, but not in the Church: because the Church is not God, but the House of God. It is called Catholic, because diffused thro' the whole World: whereas heretical Churches are not called Catholic, because contained in their several Provinces: But the Church is spread abroad in the splendor of one Faith from the rising to the setting of the Sun. **The Communion of Saints:** viz. departed hence in the same Faith with us: with whom we enjoy a communion of Society, and Hope. **The remission of sins:** viz. in Baptism. **The resurrection of this flesh:** viz. which we bear about us, from a mortal to an immortal state by the re-union of the Soul. And the life eternal which we shall attain unto by this Faith. Of which Creed he thus concludes: *This Symbol, which is thus insinuated into the Competents by the Scriptures and Sermons Ecclesiastical, is in this short Form to be confessed and professed by the Faithful.*

§ 15. Thus then, as we have in these Breviaries the entire and uniform sum of the Primitive Faith, so by the identity of it in so very distant several Countrys from the most Eastern to the most Western, and the Southern to the most Northern parts of the Roman Empire, we have the certain Test for the Fundamental Universality of our Faith (*S*) defined by the Judicious *Vincen-* (*S*) *Vincen. L.*  
*tius Lirinensis: Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omni-* Commonit. l.  
*bus.* That is: That which is acknowledged as the Faith adv. hares. 22.  
entirely constitutive of Christianity in all Ages, in all 3.  
Christian places, by all Christian persons whatsoever, continuing in the Unity of the Catholic Church, must be Catholic: which is most certainly true of the Faith

§ 15.

COR-

contained in the forecited Creeds, but cannot be proved, or with any colour pretended of the additional Articles in the *Tridentine* Confession, the present Model of the Roman Faith. So that since we can derive our Succession of Bishops with this Faith from the Apostles, I wonder how it can be affirmed, That there is no Church among us, in the Faith whereof Salvation may be had. Perhaps it will be said, That this Faith is sufficient for Baptism, and so for Salvation, in case no sins follow exposing us a new to God's Judgment, but not sufficient to the maturity of a Christian, and the Communion of Christ's Body and Blood. But to this I shall answer, That in ancient Ages in very many Churches they gave the Eucharist to Infants, and because this will be condemned for an irregularity, because not absolutely universal, and primo-primitive, and now long since disused, I will alledge, that it was the Primitive usage of the Church to transmit the baptized Profelytes from the Baptisteries to the Altar, upon this (t) Apostolic Confession of Faith necessary to Baptism. We, saith S Justin, after we have thus baptized him that is persuaded, and consenteth to our Faith, bring him to those whom we call Brethren, where they are gathered together, making common Prayers, both for themselves, and for him that is thus illuminated, and all others, &c. And Prayers being ended, we salute each other. After this, Bread and a Chalice of Water and Wine is presented to the President of the Brethren, and he receiving it, giveth praise and glory to God the Father of all things, thro' the Name of his Son and of the Holy Spirit: And maketh a large Thanksgiving for that God vouchsafes us these Blessings.—Then after the Benediction of the Bishop, and the Popular Acclamation of Amen, our Deacons distribute to every one present to partake of the consecrated Bread, Wine, and Water: and carry it to those that are absent: which Food

(t) Justin, Mart.  
Apolog. 2.

is called by us the Eucharist: of which it is not lawful for any one to partake, but only him that believeth those things true which are taught by us, (viz. to the Catechumens, for to other Doctrines none were admitted before Baptism) and is baptized unto remission of sins, and regeneration, and liveth so as Christ hath delivered. By which it is manifest, that the Eucharist being administered to all the Congregation, in which the new baptized person was present, every such Neophyte was admitted to Baptism, and immediately thereupon to the Eucharist, upon the Confession of the Creed Apostolic at his Baptism. Or if this will not satisfy against the Innovations at Trent, let the Roman Advocates produce any other Confession of Faith in any the Primitive Records, which the adult Christians used in their Liturgies, expressing their supernumerary Determinations beyond these Primitive Creeds, and then they will say something worth Consideration and Deference.

§ 16. In the next place then we shall consider the descent of this universal uniformity of Faith by certain and indubitable methods of Tradition, both Oral and Practical. First then (u) Eusebius Pamphilus in his Confession of Faith (in his Epistle to his Cæsareans) exhibited before the Emperour Constantine the Great, at the Council of Nicæa, prefaceth of it thus: *As we have received from the Bishops that were before us, and in our being catechized, and in our Baptism, and as we have learned from the Divine Scriptures, and as we have believed and taught, both in our Presbyterate, and Episcopacy, &c.* So that hereby we find, That every Bishop and Presbyter were by their Doctoral duty to profess, teach, and propagate the Summary of their Christian Faith publicly in their Congregations: And all Catechists, that had the preparative Institution of Catechumens, taught it (x) with some other Instructions

§ 16.

(u) Euseb. apud  
Sacr. Eccl. Hist.  
l. i. c. 7.

(x) Constit. A-  
post. l. 7. c. 13.

D

also



also out of the Scriptures, and all Competents at their Baptism confessed that Faith themselves, which at the same time was professed, taught, and demanded of them by their Bishops, &c. Which being done by the Bishops, and Clergy, and People, in all these, and other, either common, or severally respective Liturgies, throughout the whole Catholic Church, constantly at all occasions in God's Service, maintained an uniform Succession in all Churches of the World. For thus in the very structure of the Churches Catholic Unity there was laid a Method of Conveyance and Security for the Universal and Uniform Tradition of the Faith. The Laity are to be instituted by the several Orders of the Clergy, but all eminently by the Bishop, in the same Form of Faith, and in all these Principles, accounts of all mens Conformity, both in Confession and Doctrine, were to be returned to the Bishop, to receive either his approbation, or correction. And that this Uniformity might be propagated, not only in one single Diocese or Province, but in all others in the World, while the union of the Catholic Church continued inviolate, each Church or Province always took care to Synodize, and at the election of their Bishops, as also on other emergent occasions, by their *ἐπιστολικά συνάγματα*, their Epistolical Correspondencies, to give account of the Faith of their Bishops, to prevent, or repress any doubt or jealousy. So that if any Innovations were attempted by any Bishop, or any inferiour Order of the Clergy or Laity, to a degree of Error or Insolence greater than their particular Bishops could repress in their People, or the Clergy or People reclaim in their innovating Bishop, then all the Churches of the World, or at least the adjacent, or communicable World, were sent to by the offended and sound part of the disordered Church, to give their Suffrage for the Faith, and to exclude the Innovators,



novators, not recanting from one end of the Earth unto the other: Which Polity, as it hath its precedent Examples in the Apostolical Epistles sent by their Spiritual Legates, so is it by (y) *Alexander*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, affirmed to be a duty founded in a Divine Obligation. *There being*, saith he, *a Command in the Divine Scriptures to keep the Bond of Unanimity and Peace, it follows, that we ought to write and signifie to each other the things which happen any where among us, that if any one Member suffer or rejoyce, we also may either suffer or rejoyce together.* So that, from all these ways of uniform propagation of the Apostolic Faith throughout the Catholic Body, it came to pass, that in all Ages of the Church, every Christian that doth but know into what he was baptized, if asked by any Pagan in all or any parts of the World, can and will uniformly recite to him the same equal Articles of the same Creed Apostolick. So that our knowledge of the Catholicism of our Faith depends not on any particular Infallibility of any one particular Pope, or any General Council, by virtue of a particular Grace inspiring them with an especial undeceivable Illumination, but the universal uniformity of Confession both by Clergy and Laity descending from the first Ages of Christianity. Infomuch that what a learned Friend, to whom I sent these Notes for censure and correction suggested, is very remarkable, That the Laity so well understood their Faith, that many times they by their Sagacity discerned the sly Insinuations of Error in the Sermons of their unsound and heretical Bishops, and so occasioned them to be condemned by Synodical Sentences; and thro' the radicated sense of Faith would never be brought to any the Alterations made by any corrupt Councils, nor could ever rest under their Prevarications, till the Primitive Faith recovered, and vacated all those Synodical Prevarications,

(y) *Alexand.*  
*Alexandrin.* ad  
Cathol. Eccl. E-  
pisc. Epist. ap.  
Sacr. Eccl. Hist.  
l. 1. c. 6.

as may be seen in all the *Arian* History, and particularly the relation given, of the vulgar Sagacity and Zeal to detect and repress that Heresie, in *S. Hierome* against the *Luciferians*, whether I refer the Reader.

§ 17.

§ 17. But as the Catholicism of our Faith depends on no particular infallible Authority of any particular Pope, or any single General Council, so neither doth the Evidence of its Divinity stand therein. For the Church receives this Faith as fundamentally principal in Christianity, and of Divine Institution and Revelation, not on the Testimony meerly of the continually successive Popes, or General Councils seldom called; but each Country, where the Apostles in their Dispersions taught, received this Symbol of Christianity, as a perpetual *Depositum* and Form of sound Words, and as the Correspondences and Intercourses of Nations; and by consequence Christians and Christian Churches, must needs give a mutual knowledge of their Affairs, as well in Christianity it self, as in other Concernments; so by this it was found by all Nations, that their several Founders of Christianity were all indued with Miracles, all lived the same Life, taught the same Rules in Morals and Mysteries, used the same Discipline, despised all the Vanities and Enjoyments of this World, and endured all manner of Persecutions and Martyrdoms on the account of their Doctrine with miraculous Meekness, Courage, and Charity, and all baptized and catechized in this Rule of Faith. And not only the Apostles, but their Inferiour Ministers and Disciples, were in great and notorious numbers endued with miraculous Gifts on the Profession of the same Faith and Name of Jesus, *That to one man was given by the Spirit the Word of Wisdom, to another the Word of Knowledge, to another the Gifts of Healing, to another working of Miracles, to another Prophecy, to another discerning of Spirits, to another divers Tongues,*

*Tongues, to another interpretations of Tongues, &c. 1 Cor.*

12. So that as each Apostles first Profelytes did believe on their single Divine Testimony, so afterward they were confirmed in that Faith, by finding the same communicated by other Apostles in the like miraculous manner to all other Nations, and the blessings of the Holy Spirit every where crowning and glorifying this their Universal Faith. And as this did abundantly satisfie the first Converts, so the unanimity and correspondence of the Christians in all the World, so justified visibly in the sight of the Heathens by the miraculous Life, Gifts, Actions, and Sufferings of Christ, his Apostles, and Ministers, Confessours, Martyrs, and other Saints in the first foundation and continuance of Christianity over all the hospitable World, amazed and strongly convinced Mankind of the Divinity of this Plantation by Divine Testimonies, and by consequence that the Foundations and Principles thereof must be from Divine Tradition: which was the first thing believed by every Profelyte in the first Ages, in order to his total Conversion. And being so far perswaded, his next business was to enquire, what were the fundamental Principles of this Profession, and so could uniformly find the same Points of Faith acknowledged by all Doctors, and Disciples, Workers of Miracles, Prophets, Confessors, and all Christians whatsoever in the whole Oecumenical circumference. So God proving the Church in those first Ages to be his Plantation, those, that believed this, must needs receive the universal and uniform acknowledgment of its fundamental Faith, into which it invited all men to be baptized to the enjoyment of the same Graces and Gifts, resolving to dye magnanimously for that blessed Name of Jesus, and confounding all Gain-sayers with the same Confidence, Faith, and Spirit; it being impossible to conceive, that God should recommend

mend an Universal Imposture by his Testimony from Heaven. And not only so, but also the unaccountable and speedy Conquest that this Christianity made over all the World, where and whensoever it came, against all natural tendencies, without any natural Wisdom, without any worldly Power, against all imaginable Difficulties and Oppositions, makes it evident, that God supported it, and is to us one Testimony of its Divinity.

(z) *Euseb. Dem. Evang. l. 56.* For so (z) *Eusebius Pamphilus* fairly acknowledgeth: *I*

*indeed, saith he, candidly examining the Word, find no persuasive force in it, nothing grave, nor creditable, no nor credible, no not so much as to persuade any one Idiot. But then considering on the other hand the power of it, what infinite multitudes it hath convinced, and how infinitely numerous Churches have been founded by those rude and contemptible Disciples of Jesus, not in blind and obscure places, but in the most magnificent Cities, I mean the Imperial Rome, and Alexandria, and Antioch, and throughout all Egypt, and Libya, Europe, and Asia, and in Villages, Countrys, and all sorts of Nations, I am of necessity forced to recur to examine the cause hereof, and to confess that they could never otherwise have compassed their Undertaking, than by a more Divine Power, and a Cooperation more than Human. I cannot forbear to add hereunto the account given of the prevalency of Christianity by*

(a) *Chrys. Hom. 75. in Matth. c. 24.*

(a) *S. John Chrysostom*, whereby the Faith of it may be proved Divine, not only by the single Authority of one Bishop of Rome, but the universal sense of Mankind from the first Ages of Christianity, even to the end of the World. *The Apostles, saith he, preached in those times, when all the Jews were most exquisitely persecuted, and watched as wicked and seditious: when Cæsar had already ordered them to be everywhere exterminated: neither was the case otherwise, than as if, when the Seas every way arise, and the Air is covered with darkness, when Ship after*

after Ship often perisbeth in shipwrack, when all the Mariners that survive disagree among themselves, when Monsters arise out of the Deep, and together with the Waves snatch off the Sailers, when Thunderbolts are darted, Pyrates picqueer, the Mariners are faithless, ignorant of guiding the Ship, and fight one against the other in a Naval Battel: When a vast and well-furnished Fleet shall fall on them that are in one little Vessel, and that poorly tackled, one should command this little wretched Bark to bear up against that mighty Navy, and promise victory against it. For the Apostles were hated by the Heathens as Jews, and were sharply persecuted by the Jews as breakers of their Law: So they could nowhere rest, but Precipices were on every side, and sharp Craggs and Cliffs hanged directly over them, and hidden Rocks lay under them, and in Cities, Countries, and Houses, all and every Person set upon them, Emperors, Princes, private Men, and Magistrates, all Nations, and all People.——For the Roman Empire chased the Jews, because they projected infinite Trepanns against them, and yet all this without any detriment to the Gospel: but when the City was taken and burnt, and the Inhabitants miserably afflicted, the Apostles, who had fled thence, gave Law and new Precepts of Life even to the very Romans against their wills. A wonder not heard of in Nature. The Romans then conquered and captivated innumerable thousands of Jews, and are yet overcome themselves by twelve naked and unarmed men. What Oration can express the greatness of such a Miracle. For these two things are necessary to be in all Teachers, That they have a strong Authority, and be beloved of their Hearers; and a third thing, That those things, which are spoken, please the hearer, and in a time of quiet; to which all things were contrary at the preaching of the Apostles: For they had no creditable Authority, and those that had, used it to seduce men from the love of the Apostles, or how-



however did obstruct their Conversation with them. So they are every where driven out by their Nation, Country, and Laws. And beside, there seemed great hardneſs in the Apostles Precepts: and also great pleasure in that former Life from which they drew men. And further, both they and all that followed them, were subject to many dangers, and various and cruel deaths: And moreover, the Tumults and Troubles of Wars made the whole Transaction so difficult, that if nothing else had resisted it, it might easily be by these only frustrated. — Which undertaking, how great an Attempt it was, and how much it exceeds Human Power, that you may perceive: Suppose one hated person to enter, not into Nations, nor People, but only one House, that he may divide the Cohabitants, pluck aſunder and ravish the Father from his Children, Children from their Mother, the Husband from his dearest Wife, and you shall see him torn in pieces, ere he can so much as mumble, or open his Mouth. But if the man shall appear contemptible, and yet enjoyn them hard duties, to forsake their delights for a Philosophic Severity, and for this this one man shall contend against many, will he not be stoned ere he come to the Gate? That therefore which is impossible to perform in one House, that did Christ by his Disciples, thro' Precipices, Fires, Craggs, Rocks, and Wars raging by Sea and Land, &c. Thus then, while Christianity struggled against all the Powers of this World, and all imaginable Persecutions without any Secular Assistance, and continually got ground upon all the Oppositions, and converted at last the Imperial Powers to espouse it, it was manifest to all the World, and the conquered daily acknowledged, that the Hand of God was in the propagation of it. And the final Triumphs of Christian Piety, and the universal Possession which the Faith once had, and in great measure hath throughout the World, notwithstanding its opposition and contempt

tempt of all worldly Interest, Power, Wisdom, and Inclinations, is a Divine demonstration that it was not of Human Counsel, since nothing can produce an Effect in Naturals contrary to its self; and in Morals, no Affection or Inclination will promote what is destructive of its self. So that had we no Histories, Heathen or Ecclesiastical, no Apologies or Epistles of the Fathers, living in those first years of Gentile and Jewish Persecutions, discovering unto us the rise, growth, and propagation of Christianity, yet would it appear consonant to natural Reason, that that Religion, that requires us on pain of damnation not to resist the very Heathen Secular Power, and anathematizeth those that speak evil of Dignities, could not be brought upon the World by the Sword or Rebellion: and that being alien from, and destructive of all Natural Wisdom, Counsels, and Inclinations, and in its Mysteries superiour to the Natural Senses and Apprehensions of Mankind, could not be introduced by Mortal design: and then it being apparently good, heroically excellent, and vertuous, even to the actual amazement and admiration of every considering Mind, must be deduced from a Divine Original. We then that have such a proleptic Motive to believe the Divinity of our Corporation, having beside in many momentous Matters the Testimonies of our bitter Enemies the Heathens, and for our full satisfaction our own Antiquities, Annals, Laws, and Records, as other Bodies Politic have, in the Scriptures, Histories, Writings, Epistles, and Apologies of our Fathers, defining our Faith, as well as all the State and Duties of Christianity, are abundantly secured in the Tradition of our Faith by the universal and uniform descent of it in vocal Professions, and in Symbolical Rites, and all the vital Offices of the Churches Union, Succession, and Enlargement, and are not left to the miserable danger of one mans Judgment and Arbitration.

(b) *Basil ad Am-  
philoch. c. 27.*

§ 18. And as these vocal Methods in the Tradition of Faith were so diligently continued, so were the very Sacraments and Rituals of the Primitive Church, descending from the Practical Traditions of the Ages Apostolic, fitted, not only for Moral Decency, but Memorials and Indications of Christian Faith, and (b) therefore, by S. Basil, in a great Elogy made of equal use or force with written Rules in order unto Piety. Which, saith he, no man, that is but indifferently experienced in Ecclesiastical affairs, will contradict: For if the unwritten Customs be rejected by us, as not having much moment, we shall imprudently condemn those things, which in the Gospel are accounted necessary to Salvation: nay we shall contract the very preaching of Faith to a meer name. As first, to mention the most common Rite, Who taught us in writing that we should sign them with the sign of the Cross, who have placed their hope in Christ? That we should pray with our faces toward the East, what Scripture hath instructed us? The words of Invocation, when the Bread of the Eucharist, and the Cup of Blessing is shewn, which of the Saints left us in writing? For we are not content with what the Apostle, or the Gospel mentions, but we add other sayings before and after, as having much moment to the Mystery, which without Scripture we have received from Tradition. We consecrate also the Water of Baptism, and the Oyl of Unction, as him also that receives it, but out of what Scriptures? And who indeed taught from any Writing the very inunction of the Oyl? Moreover, that in Baptism a man should be thrice immersed, whence was it delivered? Also the rest of things which are done in Baptism, as to renounce to Satan and his Angels, from what Scripture have we? Is it not from this secret Tradition? Is it not from that Doctrine which our Fathers kept in silence from curious and idle persons? — They, who in the beginnings of the Church prescribed certain Rites, the Apostles and Fathers,

Fathers, preserved the dignity of their Mysteries with secrecy and silence. For this cause we all look to the East when we pray: but few of us know that in so doing we mystically look to, and desire our old Country Paradise which God placed in Eden to the Eastward. In the first day of the week we pray standing upright, but all of us know not the reason: For while we pray standing, we do not only advertise our selves, that as we are raised together with Christ, we ought to seek those things that are above, but also that this day seemeth in some manner an Image of the World to come. — So the whole time from Easter to Pentecost remindeth us of our Resurrection, which we expect in the future World. — Moreover, as often as we kneel and rise again, by that gesture we shew, that by reason of sin we fell to the Earth, and by the Mercy of him that created us we are restored unto Heaven. Thus S. Clemens Alexandrinus gives the Mystery (c) of diluting the Wine in the Eucharist, as a Symbol of uniting the Spirit of God with Man. And S. Hierome very admirably makes it to be a (d) Memorial of the Water and Blood flowing out of our Lord's side: and that it is a sign, that the Nations, being often in Scripture typified by Waters, shall be incorporated into Christ by his Blood. Thus the Ring (e) in Marriage was of old an Emblem of the Wives Oeconomical care. The (f) three set hours of Public Liturgy, the Third, Sixth, and Ninth (with us the Ninth, Twelfth, and Third in the Afternoon) are for an honorary Devotion in respect of the Trinity. Thus praying toward (g) the East is in a typical observation of the light of the Sun of Righteousness, and in opposition to the aspect of Heathen Idols. So also the Holy kiss in the same Clemens his sense is mystical, as is also the covering of Women because of the Angels, and the uncovering of a Man's head in token of his Dominion, &c. So that these Rites of the Church were figurative Tra-

(c) Clem. Alex. Pædag. l. 2. c. 2.

(d) Hieron. Par. Epist. 2. Tract. 2. Ep. 116.

(e) Clem. Pædag. l. 3. c. 11.

(f) Clem. Al. Strom. l. 7.

(g) Clem. Alex. ibid. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ

μεθεοικισμένης

ἐστὶν οἰκία καὶ ἡ ἀ-

νατολή, καὶ οὖν

τοῦ ὅπου ἀν-

εῖσαι ἐν σκώ-

τους λαμβάνοντες

τὸ πρῶτον ἀλ-

λά καὶ τοῖς ἐν

ἄστροις καὶ ἐν

δευτέρῳ ἀνέ-

τελλει γὰρ ὁμοίως

ἀληθείας ἡμῶν

ἐκ κατὰ λόγον

τῷ ἡλίῳ. Ὅθεν

καὶ τὰ παλαι-

τάκια περὶ δι-

σιν Ἰσλαμῶν ἵ-

να εἰ ἀποτί-

περισσοῦ τῶν

ἀγαλλιάσεων ἡ-

σαμένοις περὶ

ἀνατολῆς τῆς

παλαιᾶς διδασ-

καρίας.

ditions in Christianity of its Faith, Mysteries, and Morals, which surely ought not to be fanatically despised for those Divine and Excellent uses for which they were derived from the times Apostolical, being concurrent Preservatives of our Christian Principles. Not that I think them all essential to Religion, and so absolutely necessary to be eternally observed against all difficulties and oppositions, (for no doubt it is not only lawful, but expedient to omit any Accidental or Figurative Usage to avoid a greater Evil, as Superstition, or any other dangerous Scandal arising from the Weakness and insuperable Prejudices of Christian People) but very honorary for their Antiquity, Significancy, and Decency, and, were there no Prejudices, expedient to assimilate us to the Primitive Church. Which consuetudinary Apostolical Traditions descended to the Church Catholic, not by the alone Prescription of the Roman See (as appears from the difference of other Primitive Usages about the Paschal Feast in *Asia* from the Tradition of *S. John* the Apostle, &c. from that of *Rome*) but in each Country where the Apostles and their Ministers founded the Churches, these Apostolical Rites did originally descend from their Institution, some of which were universally uniform, and others various, but all useful, comely, and symbolical of Christian Verities.

§ 19.

§ 19. The second Classis of Catholic Doctrines, are such as were by Education instilled into Persons intended for the Doctoral Charge, as fundamentally and universally necessary to that qualification. (See § 6.) For in the first Ages the Candidates of Theology were not, as they are now in *England* and most other Countries, irregularly left to what method of Divine Studies they pleased at all adventure, but were under the Care of Bishops and Doctors constituted to that purpose to transmit to them those Theological Principles, that they had



had also in like manner received from their Doctors backward even to the Apostles. Which practice having been long obsolete and forgotten, we are now left only to the Scriptures, and the golden Remains of our Fathers, to find out those Doctoral Principles, of which we cannot be assured without the Scriptures and the Primitive Fathers by the most Sacred Pope or Council that can be called, but may attain them without either Pope or Council, by a devout and impartial Soul, and by a diligent study and examination of those Primitive and Divine Records.

§ 20. Now because Heresie consists not only in a bare denying the plain Articles of our Creed, or the Precepts of our Morality and Sacraments, which is rather Apostasie than Heresie, but also in depraving or opposing these Doctoral Principles either rectly or openly, let us consider what ways of Prescription they had in the Primitive times before the *Arian* Confusions against all Heretics whatsoever, not only from the Popular, but also these Doctoral Traditions. *S. Irenæus* then thus prescribeth (b) against all Heresies. *Every man, saith he,* (b) Iren. adv. hæc l. 3. c. 3. *that is willing to hear and understand, may perceive the Tradition of the Apostles manifested in every Church, and we can reckon them that have been ordained Bishops in the Churches by the Apostles, and the Successors of those Bishops even unto us, who neither taught, nor knew these heretical Fooleries. For if the Apostles had known hidden Mysteries, which they taught the perfect separately and secretly from the rest, they would most chiefly have delivered them to those to whom they committed their very Churches. For they would have them to be very perfect and faultless whom they left for their Successors, delivering them the place of their own Precedency; from whom living blameless great benefit would redound, but living otherwise, great calamity. But because 'tis very long*

in such a Volume to reckon up all the Successions of all Churches, by shewing the Apostolic Tradition of the greatest, most ancient, and celebrated Church of Rome, founded and constituted by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul, and its Faith descending even unto us by the Succession of her Bishops, we confound all Innovations. For to this Church, (i) because of the more powerful Principality, it is necessary that every Church convene, that is, all the Faithful all around it, or from all Parts: in which City or Church the Tradition Apostolical hath been preserved by those of all Parts there convened. This famous passage of S. Irenæus will here ingage me to a diligent and impartial discussion, because, as it illustrates a primitive Form of proving Catholic and Traditional Doctrines, so is it challenged for the Omni-regency of the Roman Church by those of her Communion. To our purpose then S. Irenæus avers, That it was a proper Argument against all Heretics to reckon up the Successions of Bishops in all the Sees Apostolic from the Apostles downward to his days, in which every Bishop successively taught the Catholic Faith and Doctrine without any of those Heretical Mixtures and Innovations: Which also he should have done, had it not been a Task too long for the designed brevity of his Volume. So that the Successional Tradition of Faith and Doctrine in all Apostolic Sees, was in it self a good Prescription against Heretics, and not only that of Rome. But then for brevities sake he saith, the very alledging of the Romish Succession of Bishops from S. Peter and Paul their Founders, and the uniform descent of their Faith, being it was the most known, and most celebrated Church of all, and had the greatest confluence from the whole Catholic Body, would be sufficient to convince Heretics, instead of the larger trouble of running thro' all the Successions of all the Sees Apostolick: since to

(i) Propter potentiorē principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire Ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles, in quā semper ab his qui sunt undique conservata est ea quæ est ab Apostolorum Traditione.

the Church of *Rome*, by reason of the more powerful Principality, the faithful, as well as others, from all places did convene, who being there, did therein preserve the Apostolic Tradition of Faith, which they had been baptized into in their several domestic Churches throughout the Roman Empire. Where the Citation of the Roman Tradition by the descent of their Bishops had a more certain Token of its Universality, than the Tradition of any other single Church, because to this Imperial City people came, dwelt, and sojourned from all that Imperial World, and thence also from all the Churches thereof. Now the Faithful, coming thither from all quarters, were to communicate with the Bishop in the Ecclesiastical Conventions, &c. in the place where they sojourned or settled, if he retained the Catholic Principles without addition, diminution, or depravation. And their Communion with him universally and unanimously without exception, was an universal Testimony to all the World that he did retain the whole pure Substance of Christianity. So that the credit of the Romish Tradition above others in those Primitive days, depended on no inherent Gift in that Bishop or Bishopric above others, but the more public Testimony that it had from all the Faithful, who from all parts of the World were necessitated to have recourse thither, and so to see and testify the soundness of the Roman Traditions, and to justify it to all the World by their universal Communion with the Bishop of *Rome*, and their credential Certificates to their respective Churches of their several Countries. So that having such an universal Testimony from all Christian strangers at *Rome* to the several Churches from whence they went thither, that is, at least the whole Imperial World, the citing of the Roman Tradition, so universally attested to be conformable to the Catholic, was enough to confound Heretics, as long as it continued.

nued so without alteration under the like universal  
 Testimony and Acknowledgment of all Churches from  
 the uniform Report of their Members residing at *Rome*  
 in manifest Communion with its Bishop. But alas! tho'  
 I wish that See had still the like Authentic Testimony  
 for its unaltered integrity, yet in truth it hath been long  
 since for many Ages lost and perished: so that that  
 which was an irrefragable Argument in *S. Irenæus's*  
 days for the Romish Integrity, and much longer, is now  
 impertinent and unapplicable to the present state of  
*Rome*, and all the Traditions called in question by our  
 Church. For the Empire being broken into many King-  
 doms, and States, and Principalities, People are not  
 compelled from all parts, as heretofore, to go thither,  
 and those that do go, do not all unanimously see, judge,  
 and testify by Acts, and Words, and Writings, that all  
 the Traditional Doctrines of the present Roman  
 Church are no other, or more than what are uniformly  
 received in all the dispersions of the Church Catholic:  
 or if they did, yet because it is manifest from the cer-  
 tain Remains of the prime Antiquity, that this Church  
 now professeth several Traditions of Faith as necessary  
 to Salvation beyond what was primitively received, and  
 professed in the Creeds, and the uniform sense of all the  
 Fathers on them, this is sufficient to vacate the Autho-  
 rity of these later Traditions. For it is not a present  
 Universality of any later Ages alone, but of the first  
 Ages from the beginning, that must prove a Tradition  
 Primitive and Divine. To these Explications I know  
 what will be replied, That the more powerful princi-  
 pality is by *S. Irenæus* ascribed, not to the City, but the  
 Church of *Rome*, the words being, *Ad hanc enim Eccle-*  
*siam, propter potentiorum Principalitatem, necesse est con-*  
*venire omnem Ecclesiam, hoc est, eos, qui sunt undique fi-*  
*deles, &c.* But not to mention those infinite places,  
 wherein

wherein that Church and Bishop are magnified, because they were *Benedictus Palus*, the Church and Bishop of that Imperial City. I will be content with that Instance, which a Right Reverend Father in God suggested to me as a plain Explication of this place, that the Council of (k) *Constantinople*, called by *Theodosius* the Great, advanced the Bishopric of *Constantinople* next in dignity to that of *Rome*, because it was dignified by Imperial pleasure with the style of *New Rome*, and was like *Old Rome* the Imperial City of the Eastern part of that Empire. But further, if we understand the more powerful Principality to be that of the Church, not of the City, it will be false that hereupon every Church, that is, all the Faithful all around, or every where, should come and present themselves there: for tho' it might have been pleaded, that every Church was to come thither in its representative Legates, had not the *Omnes fideles* been put in, yet now the *Omnes fideles*, all the Faithful being private Christians, and the interpretation of the *omnis Ecclesia* every Church, excludes this pretence of convening by Legates, and so proves the Principality to belong to the City, that drew thither all sorts of people from all parts of that Empire. And I should rejoyce to see it well proved, that either the Legates, or Community of Christians in the *Persian*, *Indian*, or *Gothish* Empires, or Churches, even while *Ulphilas* had not yet tinctured the *Goths* with any touch of Arianism, were necessitated to come to the Church of *Rome*. But in the mean time to what purpose, here regarded by *S Irenæus*, should even the Faithful within the Roman Empire generally convene on any Ecclesiastic Necessities to the See of *Rome*? For all that his Discourse tends to, is the preservation of the Apostolic Tradition at *Rome*, which surely *Rome* will by her Advocates be pleaded able to maintain, without the confluence of Aliens;

F

and

(k) Sacr. Eccl. Hist. l. 5. c. 8.



and so indeed all other Churches, and all the Faithful in them, could and can retain, without popular recourses thither, the Apostolic Tradition into what they were baptized at home, and which they received from their own Bishops and Fathers, tho' they had originally derived it from thence, which yet the Eastern Churches did not, nor some of the Western neither.

§ 21. Having thus by the way solved this famous place of *S. Irenæus*, brought for a Rule of Prescription against Heretics, we shall examine a little further the force and efficacy of this primitive form of Prescription, which is more largely delineated by *(l) Tertullian*. We therefore, saith he, direct this Prescription: If the Lord Jesus sent his Apostles to preach, then no other were to be received than those whom he ordained. — Now what they preached, that is, what Christ revealed to them, I will here prescribe, must no other way be proved but by the same Churches which the Apostles founded, as first by their preaching *viva voce*, so after by their Epistles. If this be so, it is certain, that all Doctrine which doth agree with those Apostolical Churches, (the Parents and Originals of the Faith) is to be accounted true, as indubitably retaining what the Churches from the Apostles, the Apostles from Christ, and Christ received from the Father. But whether Doctrine is to be rejected as false on this prejudice, that it carries a contrariety to that Truth of the Churches, Apostles, Christ, and God. — This determination will stand firm against all later Heresies, which have nothing certain wherein they can defend their Doctrines for Truth. But if any Heresies dare to challenge to themselves the age Apostolical, as if therefore they would seem to be delivered by them, because they had their being in their days; we can reply, Let them then produce the Originals of their Churches: let them reckon the order of their Bishops so running down from the beginning by their Successions, that their first.

(k) Tert. Presc.  
adv. Hæret. & con.  
Marcion. l. 4.

first Bishop may have some one of the Apostles, or Apostolic persons (which however persevered with the Apostles) for his Founder or Predecessor. For the Apostolical Churches do thus exhibit their Catalogues. As the Church of Smyrna alledgeth that Polycarp was made her Bishop by S. John. The Roman Church declareth Clemens to be ordained her Bishop by S. Peter. And thus do other Churches exhibit others, whom they have received from the Apostles, as their Bishops and Propagators of the Seed Ecclesiastical, (i. e. Faith and Doctrine). Let Heretics invent such a Proof for themselves. — After this manner also shall Heretics be challenged by those Churches, which, tho' they can produce no Founder from the Apostles, or Apostolic Persons, as being much later and still continually founded, yet agreeing in the same Faith, are accounted no less Apostolical (let the Romanists mark this) thro' the consanguinity of their Doctrine. — Well then: thou that wilt more usefully exercise thy curiosity in the business of thy Salvation, run thro' the Apostolical Churches, in which there are yet Bishops presiding in the very Chairs of the Apostles, in which their very authentic Letters are read, expressing the voice, and representing the very face of each Apostle. Is Achaia near thee? there thou hast Corinth. If Macedonia be not far from thee, there thou hast Philippi, and the Thessalonians. If thou canst reach to Asia, there thou hast Ephesus. If thou borderest on Italy, there thou hast Rome: whence also we (viz. the African Churches) have a ready authority, &c. And such an inquisitive Spirit had Hegeſippus, who <sup>(m)</sup> tells us in his Commentaries, That in his Travel unto Rome he conversed with very many Bishops, and received the same Doctrine from them all, as from Primus Bishop of Corinth, and Anicetus Bishop of Rome, and that in every Succession in every City there was the same Doctrine, which the Law, the Prophets, and our Lord reveal. And S. Basil, in an Epistle to his infected Neigh-

<sup>(m)</sup> Hegeſippus.   
 <sup>pub</sup> Euseb. Eccl.   
 Hist. l. 4. c. 22. ]

(n) Basil. Magn.  
Epist. ad Neo-  
ces.

hours at *Neocesarea*, appeals unto the uniform Tradition of all sound and unaltered Churches in the World from their first Founders, and that first in the Church of *Neocesarea* it self from *S. Gregory Thaumaturgus* their first Bishop. We and you, saith he, (n) have the same Doctors of the Mysteries of God, which from the beginning founded your Church, I mean that most illustrious *Gregory*, and as many as from him have enjoyed the Episcopal Seat with you, who, arising like Stars in a successive Order, have always walked in the same steps. — It had been more just to have judged our Matters, not from one or two of those that enter not with a right foot into the way of Truth, but from the multitude of the Bishops of the whole World, which are united to us in the Grace of Christ: Let the *Pisidians* be sought unto, the *Bytaonians*, *Isaurians*, *Phrygians*, and those of each *Armenia*, and the neighbouring *Macedonians*, *Achaians*, *Illyrians*, *Gauls*, *Spaniards*, and all *Italy*, *Sicilians*, *Africans*, and those that are yet found in *Egypt*, and *Syria*, &c. By which we may see, that every See Apostolic, and all others united to them in the same fundamental Principles of Faith and Ecclesiastic Doctrine, are of the same Authority to prescribe against Heretics, and to justify Canonical Truth, as is that of *Rome*, tho' this is in some adventitious Priviledges more ennobled than the others, of which I shall have occasion to discourse hereafter. This was an happy way of prescribing against Innovations in the first Ages, but hath not been able to preserve it self universally, or any where entire to our days, nor therefore can to the end of the World, because the several detolations of Cities and Churches have destroyed the Ecclesiastic Diptychs, and the Records of the Episcopal Doctrines and Confessions. Inasmuch that the remembrance of this primitive Form of proving Catholic Doctrines, serves us now only to this purpose, to assure us that every part of the Church in the first Ages,

ages, that could derive its Succession of Bishops and Faith, either mediately, or immediately, from the Apostles, was in a capacity to prescribe against Heretics as well as *Rome*, and that the Roman Church was no more the Fountain of Catholic Tradition than any other Church founded by the Apostles. And yet the Providence of God hath not left us destitute of all means of prescribing from Catholic and Primitive Antiquity, but hath preserved unto us the Scriptures, and the remaining Tractates, not only of the Latin, but also of the Greek Fathers, who had not their descent from *Rome*, but their own peculiar and co-ordinate Successions from the Apostles, from which we may securely prescribe against all later Innovations in the Essentials of our Christianity, which are all delivered in the Scriptures, and collected into Creeds by the Fathers, as they had received from the Apostles, with their harmonious Explications of them, as also other Doctoral Mysteries received by the Primitive Fathers from the Apostles likewise. So that in these we are not left to the helpless misery of meer dialectical velitations, which can never end the pertinacies of religious Contentions, but the Tradition of all our Principles, (o) sufficient to the satisfaction of all sincere and faithful Souls, is continued to the Church as an irrefragable Bulwark against heretical Impostures, in the Monuments of the Prophets, Apostles, and Doctors, successively descending in all the parts of the World.

(o) *Greg. Nyssen.*  
con. Eunom. O.  
rat. 3. Ἀρχὴ  
γὰρ οὗτος ἀποστό-  
λος τῶν ἡμετέρων  
λόγος τὸ ἔχειν  
τὴν πᾶσι δυνά-  
μιν οὗτος οὗτος  
τὴν παραδοσάν-  
τος πᾶσι καλῶ-  
ρον δι' ἀκατα-  
στάς ἐκ τῶν ἀ-  
ποστόλων διὰ  
τῶν ἐπιστῶν ἀ-  
ρίων παρα-  
δοσθέντων

§ 22. And now Sir, that you may see the advantage of our Form of Tradition from the unanimous suffrage of all the extant Writings of the Primitive Fathers throughout all the dispersions of the Greek or Latin Churches, descending unto them not all from one only Apostle, but from them all, some in one City and Country, and others in others, above any Traditions depending on the Authority and Testimony of one single Bishop

§ 22.

shop and his Successors as received from but one or two Apostles at most, and those unknown to all the first Ages, (which is the Case of the contested Romish Traditions). I desire you to weigh these Considerations: First, Tho' each single Apostle by himself was not only a certain Author of Faith, but all Fundamental and Doctoral Principles, yet when a dissension arose against *S. Paul* and *S. Barnabas* from some Jews, that came down to them from *Jerusalem* to *Antioch*, about the necessity or no necessity of circumcising the Gentiles, the whole *Antiochian* Fraternity would not acquiesce, or at least would not justify themselves with the meer Authority of those two Apostles, but for the most plenary satisfaction, either to themselves or others, sent those Apostles and other Legates to the Colledge of all the Apostles and Elders at *Jerusalem*, to resolve that Question with a final unappealable Authority. So tho' their single Authority was no ways meritorious of suspicion, yet their universally concurrent Sentence was more eminently beyond cavil. So then the joynt Tradition of the Apostles to all the World is more Majesty than the separate Tradition of one or two Apostles, especially if private, and not communicated to a general Approbation: for that fallibility is natural to every single Man, if God doth not always forefend him against it: of which continual Providence over every Apostle in all Doubts, all the weak and unexperienced Christians might not at the very first be secure or confident, whereas the unanimous sense of them all must needs take off all jealousy: and if this be so in Men certainly inspired, where can we expect to find Infallibility in any Men or Man, in whom none of those miraculous Apostolical Powers manifest themselves in the least observable degree? But secondly; The private Traditions Apostolical not designed for vulgar or public notice, are not of Faith, and there-



therefore perhaps not communicated by every Apostle: nay, perhaps all the Apostles had not all an equal knowledge of an equal number of Mysteries, and so some could not communicate those secrets to their Disciples and Successors, which others might: so that such cannot be Principles Fundamental in the Doctrinal Science, and are not therefore to be imposed on Priests or People for such primeest Principles. But thirdly, If the Successors, or Disciples, to whom such peculiar Mysteries are conveyed in secret, have not as great Credentials of their Integrity and Understanding as the Apostles, we cannot have any firm assurance of their Truth when opened to a discovery. Nay, if after an uniform and concurrent public settlement of Christian Principles by the Apostles, any Angel from Heaven is accursed, that shall add to these Foundations, how much greater is the Offence or Prejudice, and that deservedly, against any such Innovations of a mortal Man, tho' even miraculously endued with supernatural Powers (which God may permit to happen for a temptation) and much more when naked, and in pure Naturals? For a Man; tho' never so endowed with Gifts, or spiritual Powers, may turn *Judas*, or, if he be sincere, he may however mistake, or not fully apprehend, or exactly remember the pure and perfect Notion or Mystery of the Tradition, and the least defect in this marring the Certainty and Infallibility of it, and the Commentaries with which it is clothed by the secondary Traditor, and how can we be assured, without a demonstration from Heaven; that such Author hath not failed, in all, or any of these Accuracies? So that we could have had no certainty of our Christianity, had it depended on the Testimony and Interpretation of the single Bishop of one See successively, without any Divine Powers illustriously descending to and with that Succession for ever, which I suppose.

suppose will not be challenged for the Bishop of *Rome*. Inasmuch that had not the Romanists themselves the same universal Evidence for the Truth of the Principles wherein we agree, they could have no Faith, nor ground of Faith at all. And therefore whatsoever they challenge to themselves of the unity of their Faith from the unity or singularity of its Author, which they say is the Pope, I do declare that an universal unanimity of Belief or Opinion descending from a single Human Authority, that is, without the miraculous Testimony of Heaven to all his Traditions, cannot be a Mark of Truth; as it is when it proceeds from an infinite multitude of concordant Doctors dispersed throughout the World, and never clubbing Counsels together in order to a designed or crafty framing such concordant Principles, referring their Tradition to Men known to whole Nations, and by their ocular Testimony to the whole World, to be endued with power from on high in equal manner, by the same Name of Jesus, with the same contempt of the World, and courage in fatal Persecutions, to heal the sick with their Prayers and Benedictions, to raise the Dead, cast out Devils, and make them confess their own Impostures and Torments, and these men Servants of the most High God, employed to the salvation of Mankind. But the best Human Authority is in Matters not before evidenced fallible, and therefore uncertain and suspicious.

(p) *Enseb. Eccl. Hist.* l. 3. c. 39.

For thus while (p) *Papias* Bishop of *Hierapolis*, who discoursed the Seniors which conversed with the Apostles concerning secret and mysterious Traditions, thro' the simplicity of his understanding apprehended literally the Traditions which were to be taken spiritually; he, among other fabulous things, plainly delivered the *Millennium* for an Apostolical Tradition, and by the venerable authority of his Character and Antiquity procuring too great a deference to his Traditions,  
pro-

propagated this of the *Millennium* to many great Doctors of the Church, insomuch that had not (s) *S. Justin Martyr*, who is alledged by some for its universality, expressly denied its universality in the very place cited for it, it might have looked like some momentous Catholic Doctrine: Which afterward from this Original, and a mistake of it in the *Apocalypse*, receiving some mixtures of Jewish Carnality from (r) *Nepos an Egyptian Bishop*, created (saith the great *Dionysius of Alexandria*, who extinguished it) great Schisms and Apostasies of whole Churches. The like we find from too much (s) deference to the Book of *Enoch*, because cited by *S. Jude*, or from the literal, and Jewish sense of the writing, that the mixture of Angels with the Daughters of Men became an Opinion among many learned Fathers, by too much credulity to single, Human, or Apocryphal Authorities, which I affectionately beg the intelligent in the Roman Church duly to consider; and if they will be so unhappy themselves, yet not to require others to place that Faith in Man, which is due only to the living God.

(s) *Justin. Mart.*  
Dialog. cum  
Tryph.

(r) *Eus. Eccl.*  
Hist. l. 7. c. 23.

(s) *Phil. Jud.*  
de Gigantib.  
*Joseph. Antiq.*  
l. 1. c. 4.

§ 23. And now having shewn you the Perspicuity, Authority, Tradition, and Descent of the Catholic Doctrines, of the Universal Church, it follows, that every Christian is to believe, and firmly assent, profess, and dye for the Traditional Faith of the common Christianity, and to submit without opposition to the Doctoral Principles, wherein he finds an universal Harmony in the Fathers of the Church, and received by all the Clergy of the World in their Canonical Confessions or Subscriptions, and against which he can have no manifest Charge. And indeed as the People are to receive the Creed, so must all Divines preserve their Capital and Catholic Doctrines descending by the fore-explained Methods of Tradition, as being the main Defences of

§ 23.

the Faith, and Dictates of Spiritual of Wisdom, for otherwise we shall be able to maintain no perpetual or successive uniformity in Faith, Doctrine, Moralities, and Order, but shall fall into untrodden Mazes, and endless Labyrinths, and in the end of them to the Curse of God, if we remove the Bounds which our Fathers have set us. And that which in this present Life is most uneasy and contemptible, we shall become, if not Heretical, yet inferior to Heretics, and no way able to hamper them, because of that doubling of theirs described (c) by S. Irenæus. For, saith he, if we urge them with the Testimonies of Scripture, they cavil at them as either inauthentic, or dubious, and therefore unconvincing without Tradition. But when they are pressed with Tradition too, they have no other Refuge but to oppose their own Sagacity or wisdom, the only shift and certain Argument of a desperate Cause. And therefore (u) Sissinnius, a Reader in the Novatian Society under Agelius their Bishop at Constantinople, and after Bishop to that Schism, gave wife and prosperous advice to Nectarius the Catholic Bishop of Constantinople in the defence of the *ἐκκλησία* in the Council there to be assembled by the order of Theodosius the Great, to avoid all dialectical Arguments, as not fit to determine, but exasperate Controversies, and to move the Emperor to demand of the Heretics, Whether they would receive the Doctrines of the former Fathers, or anathematize them: for if they should anathematize them, then their Cause would condemn it self: if they received them, then the Catholics should cite the Tradition of the *ἐκκλησία* out of their Writings. Which Method being followed, all the Heretics presently gave suffrage to the Integrity of the Fathers that lived before the starting of the Arian Controversie: But being asked whether they would stand to their Traditions in this Controversie, they were then confounded and

(c) Iren. adv.  
hæc. l. 3. c. 2.

(u) Sac. Eccl.  
Hist. l. 5. c. 10.  
Soz. l. 7. c. 12.

and divided, and knew not what to stand to. And lastly, we may judge it necessary to retain our Catholic Traditions of Doctrine, if that of (x) *Tertullian* persuade, or (y) *Tertull.* affright us, who dares to say without bogling, *That the Scriptures themselves are so disposed by the Will of God, as to administer Matter for Heretics: for Heresies there must be, which without the Scriptures cannot be.* With whom in gentler style agreeth *S. Austin*, (y) That the Original of all Heresies proceeds from an ill understanding and perverting the Scriptures, to avoid which he directs us to admit no Interpretations against the received Faith, and in all difficulties that seem opposite to suspend our determination.

(x) *Tertull.*  
Præf. adv. hæ-  
retic.

(y) *Aug. Exp. in*  
*Evan. Joh.*  
*Tract. 18.*



## C H A P. II.

*Of the Primacy of S. Peter and the Bishop of Rome.*

§ 1. **H**AVING thus run thro' our first *Stadium*, and adjusted the Authority, and described the Descent and Tradition of Primitive, Catholic, and Fundamental Doctrines, we shall now advance to the second Enquiry, *Which, or where is this Catholic Church?* Which your Author thus Answers: *It is the Church of Rome, &c.* If I should take delight to exagitate and scourge the silliness of this Question, I might perhaps create good sport to some, and as great a discontent to other sorts of Readers; but my design being serious, hath no aim to tickle or exasperate any, but to do good to all men. And therefore I shall content my self with this easie stricture, That it is no judicious Interrogation to ask where that is which is every where in the Christian World, or which is the Catholic Church, when there is but one Catholic Church. But perhaps the Question is framed in the person of a Protestant or a doubting Soul, and so represents the weakness of their Ignorance. But surely, if any man be but told, or understands, that there is but one Catholic Church, which is the loud Profession of every Christian, how can he enquire for that one among a multitude, when he knows there is but one All? And that one being so very comprehensive a Body as to be extended thro' the greatest part of the Earth, what a vanity is it to seek where it is? For such seeking supposeth the thing sought for secret and hidden, and not yet visible to the Seeker, whereas the

the Christian Church is visible to all the World, not only to Christians, but to all Turks and Pagans. And as the question is frivolous, so is it no more grave to answer, that the Church of *Rome* is the Catholic Church: The prepositive Article [*The*] being here exclusive of some other Churches, and so proving that of *Rome* not to be the only Church, or universally comprehensive of all others, from which it is distinguished as Catholic, from the others as not Catholic; *i. e.* in plain terms it is distinguished as universal from all others as not universal, which he that can reconcile to sense

—*erit mihi magnus Apollo.*

But if (a) *S. Cyprians* definition of a Church be true, That a Church is a People united and cleaving to its Bishop, it follows, that as many Bishops as are seated over their respective Charges, so many particular Churches there are. So that there being more Bishops in the Catholic Church beside the Bishop of *Rome*, it is consequent that that City, Territory, and People, that are only under the Roman Bishop, are the particular See, Diocese, and Church of *Rome*, distinct from all other particular Sees, Dioceses, and Churches individually and particularly, by having a peculiar Bishop; so that the Church of *Rome* is but a part, and not the whole only entire Church Catholic.

(a) *Cyp. ad Florent. alias Pap. Edit. Goulart. Ep. 69.*

§ 2. But because the thing intended by these swelling and frightful Expressions is, That the Bishop of *Rome* is the supreme Governor and Arbiter of the whole diffusive Catholic Church, let us see what proof there is producible for it. For when any thing, not intrinsically evident of it self, is asserted, no assent can be justly required thereto, except it can be proved by some just, competent, and evident *Medium*, that doth clearly infer the matter claimed. So that I may justly require any man, that will subject the whole Catholic Body to the universal

universal obedience of that one Bishop, by what sufficient and undoubted Title the Pope can justify such a Claim? If only by his own Affirmation, that is begging the thing, and judging for himself without any common Principle discernible by others, especially the Parties diffident or opponent, and this contrary to all the sense and judgment of the best and primitive Ages, and therefore unconvincing, and precarious. If then there be any other *Medium* to prove it, then is the evidence and force of that *Medium* more primary and fundamental, and in the order of belief antecedent to that of the Papal Sovereignty, and by consequence must be received, not on the Papal Authority, but the Papal Authority on it: So then the Pope is not the Fountain of all Faith, because the Faith in him must be derived from another Fountain. And the truth is, all the Profelytes that the Romanists procure to the Papal Infallibility or Monarchy, receive it upon the supposed Infallibility of those Arguments which its Champions bring for it: So that with them there is a great number of Infallibles and Infallibilities in the Opinions of their Converts, and that of the Popes less evident than that of those Arguments or Doctors which defend it.

- § 3. If then the Papal Omni-regency, being no natural or moral Verity, but only a positive Constitution according to the assertion of the Romanists, be proveable by any Antecedent and more apparent Verity, this must be evident Scripture, or the uniform Tradition of the universal Church descending unto us either in the primitive Creeds, or Doctrines contained in the Writings of the Fathers, or the Catholic Practices of the Primitive Ages, derived down unto us, recorded in approved Ecclesiastical History; which suffrages of Scripture or Antiquity, as they will hereby be of greater Authority than any Papal determinations, and so not sub-

subject to them, so will I examin them to see what either Scripture, or Ecclesiastical Antiquity hath delivered unto us concerning the supreme Monarchy of the Roman Bishop: Which labour no doubt had been usefully saved us by the goodness of God, and Compilers of the Apostles Creed, by ordering us after our belief of the Trinity (or rather before it) to believe, in stead of the Holy Catholic Church, the Holy Bishop of *Rome*, had the Monarchy and Infallibility of his Holiness been fundamental in the common Faith of the Church Catholic.

§ 4. The Answer therefore to your eighth Question § 4. in the second Chapter of Spiritual and Temporal Authority tells us, That Catholics believe that the Bishop of *Rome* is the Successor of St. *Peter*, Vicar of Jesus Christ upon Earth, and the Head of the whole Catholic Church. For the proof whereof are cited in the Margin, *Matth. 16. 17. Luke 22. 31. and John 21. 17.*

§ 5. Now before we come to examin the force and consequence of these Texts, either they are as clear to prove this Position, as if they had said the same thing *totidem verbis*; or else they are doubtful, and capable of a different sense than is here ascribed to them. That in their meer Grammatical Structure they do not clearly pronounce this Romish Position is obvious to common sense, and I suppose I shall abundantly evince e're long. In the mean time supposing this Pontifical Doctrine not in it self manifest in the Texts, who shall interpret them? Shall the Pope? But then we make him Judge in his own Cause for the greatest Preferment on this side Heaven, and then without a Spirit of Divination we may preface what Judgment will pass on the irresistible Argument of so great a temptation. Shall a General Council? Yes by all means, for what fairer Judgment can be imagined? But to conclude the question without so much

much charge and trouble, Is every Bishop then in this General Council subject in Faith, Authority, and all his Episcopal Interests to the Bishop of Rome? or is he, if not in all these, yet as to the Faith and Suffrage in Council, free from all subjection to him? If so universally subject, then by the Laws of their Obedience they must, and by the Laws of their Interest they will be apt (or at least there is ground to suspect so) to de-

(b) *Clem. Alex.*

*πὶς ὁ οὐκ ἄλλος*

*Orig. con. cell. l.*

*2. Ensch. Dem.*

*Evan. l. 3. §. 5.*

*Hilar. in Matth.*

*Can. 7. Ephrem*

*Syr. de Com*

*punct. & de Pa-*

*nopl. Spirit. Ba-*

*sil. Cesar. Alect.*

*Procem. de judi-*

*cio Dei. Greg.*

*Naz. ἡς τὰς*

*Aby. & Iulian.*

*& Apol. Pat. &*

*himself.*

*Rasil. Epiphan.*

*hær. 51. & An-*

*corat. Chrys.*

*Hom. 51. in*

*Matt. 14 & Ho-*

*mil. 51. in Matt.*

*16. & Hom. 19.*

*& Hom. 2. in*

*Psal. 50. & in fi-*

*nit. alijs locis.*

*Hieron. Ep. pars*

*1. Tract. 1 Ep. 4.*

*& par. 1. Tract.*

*2. Ep. 2. 9 & par.*

*2. Tract. 2. Ep.*

*107. August. de*

*verb. Dom. in E-*

*van. Matt. Ser.*

*13. & infinit.*

*alijs loc. Faust.*

*ad Flaccil. &*

*pene omnes, &c.*

termine for him, and not dare do otherwise; and then it is a more facile and cheaper way to take the Popes own word for it, than trouble all Nations to no purpose. But if their Faith and Suffrage be free, let the Pope declare them so publickly to all the World, and that will end the dispute on these Texts, and all other Citation: for the Pontifical Omnipotency; for then he will hereby determine, that these Texts, or any other Authorities, do not subject all other Bishops universally to him, but that in the Suffrages of Faith, &c. they are equal to himself.

§ 6. Because then upon the new Romish Principles, and Authorities by them challenged to the Roman See, neither Pope, nor Council of Bishops subject to him, can be satisfying Witnesses or Judges for the Monarchy of the Pope over the Universal Church; and since it is not evidently delivered in Creeds or Scriptures as Matter of Faith, we will consider what sense the Doctors of the Primitive Church had from these and the like Texts concerning the Principality of S. Peters person first, and then of his Chair and Successors at Rome.

(b) And first I freely acknowledge, that all Antiquity doth uniformly own S. Peter to be the greatest Dignitary of the twelve Apostles under several forms of expression: and there is manifest reason for it, which I shall anon explain. But yet they place that Prelacy, not in any Monarchical dominion over the rest of the Apostles,



files, but only in the greater ardeney of his Faith and Love, as to his own internal Excellency, or in the primacy of order in his Conference and Conversation with our Lord, or in preaching the Gospel to others, or in the Consultations of the Apostolical Convent, and such like Affairs: and withal, tho' they make him Primate of the Twelve Apostles chosen by our Saviour before his death, and so of S. *Matthias* that succeeded *Judas*, yet do they not own this Prelacy over S. *Paul*, neither as to his Spiritual Gifts or Labours, nor as to the Dignity of his Apostleship of the Gentiles.

§ 7. In order to the most advantageous elucidation hereof, I shall consider the Charter promised to S. *Peter* *Matth.* 16. and his Charge given by our Saviour, *Joh.* 21. and examine first those principal Testimonies of the Fathers, which only make them common with S. *Peter* to the rest; and then, secondly, those that in the same equality of power, acknowledge a regular and orderly precedency in S. *Peter*. The Charter then of S. *Peter*, *Matth.* 16. consists of three dignifying Expressions: The first is his Denomination, and the Grace signified in it to be fundamental to the Church: *I say unto thee, thou art Peter, and upon this Rock (Petra) will I build my Church.* The second is the Power of the Keys: *And I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.* The third Clause is of Binding and Loosing: *And whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven.* And the Charge laid on him *Joh.* 21. is to Feed Christ's Sheep. Let us see then how these are first common to all the Apostles, and then secondly S. *Peter's* priority among the Twelve.

§ 8. I begin with the first part of his Charter, in which he is promised to be Fundamental to that Structure of the Church which God should erect upon him.

H

Now

(c) *Hilar. de Trinitat. l. 6.*  
 (d) *Chrys. Hom. 83. in Matth. 26 & Hom. 55. Matth. 16.*  
 (e) *Aug. de verb. Domini secund. Matth. Ser. 13. & Expos. Evan. Johan. Tract. 224.*  
 (f) *Hilar. de Trinit. l. 6. Beatus Simon edificatori Ecclesie subjacent.*  
 (g) *Chrys. Hom. 4. in verb. Esai. vidi Dom. & Hom. 2. in Psal. 50. & Hom. 3. in Matt. 1. & Hom. 20. ex var. in Matth. locis. & Hom. 55. in Matth. 16. & Hom. 83. in Matth. 26. & Hom. 18. ex var. in Matth. loc. ad c. 18.*  
 (h) *Aug. Expos. in Evang. Joh. Tract. 11. Respondit Petrus, Petra illa, &c. — in ipsa confessionis crepidine, in ipso immobilis fidei fundamento, Petro scilicet, &c. — generis humani columnam,*

Now before I prove him not to be solitary in this great Honour, I am engaged first to demonstrate him to be in the foundation of the Christian Church; because some Protestant Writers, from some passages in the Fathers not well digested, nor compared with their other Expressions, nor the universal acknowledgment of the general Antiquity, deny the Church to be built on S. Peter. For because the Apostle is named *Petrus*, and the Rock on which the Church is built, is called *Petra*, and *Petrus* is a derivative of *Petra*, so *Peter* is from that Rock which is fundamental to the Church, and not the *Petra*, the Rock it self. This they collect from a few such Glosses in the Fathers. Thus S. Hilary (c) calls S. Peter's Confession of Faith, *The Rock on which the Church is built.* — *This Faith is the Foundation of the Church: by this Faith the feeble Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it.* And S. Chrysostom (d) likewise saith, that our Lord built the Church upon his Confession: And S. Augustine (e) interprets our Saviour to be the *Petra*, from whence descended that *Petrus* in the type of the Church built on Christ. But in truth men should not be so hastily in love with such places only, because they seem to serve their Cause, till collation of them with other equally authentic places in the same, or as grave Authors. For first, S. Hilary in the same sixth Book of the Trinity, saith, That the Church was built on (f) *Simon* surnamed *Peter*. And in like manner S. J. Chrysostom in very many places calls S. Peter the Pillar and Foundation of the (g) Church, and that not only in others, but those very places cited to this purpose, to make S. Peter's Faith, and not his Person Fundamental to the Church. And S. Austin himself, (if my Edition be not interpolated) calls S. Peter (h) the Rock, and the Foundation of Faith and Confession, and Pillar of Mankind. And the Author of the Sermons De Sanctis,

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*Sanctis*, under the name of (i) S. *Augustine* (some of which are ascribed to *Maximus* among the Sermons bearing the Title of S. *Ambrose*) calls S. *Peter* the Foundation of the Church. So that men should consider that S. *Peter* being universally acknowledged by the Fathers to be a Foundation to the Church, that Christ may be one way, and in a most excellent and singular degree the Churches Foundation, and Faith the Foundation of the Church, as it is the Foundation of all Christian Piety, by which the Church was first collected, and is compaginated, and S. *Peter* and the other Apostles as first preaching and baptizing in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and being the first Patriarchs from whom descended the Hierarchical Succession. For so surely the Church is (k) built on the Foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ being the chief Corner Stone, which cannot therefore be denied to S. *Peter* in his proper order and proportion. See *Aug. ad frat. in Erem. Ser. 37.*

(i) *August. de Sanct. Ser. 16. & Ser. 26.*

(k) *Ephes. 2. 20. 1 Cor. 17. ex var. Mass. loc.*

§ 9. Having thus proved S. *Peter* to be a Foundation to the Church by the Authorities of the Fathers produced against it, and by S. *Paul* himself, that he is not sole in the Foundation, but in conjunction with the other Apostles, we shall now alledge such Testimonies of the Fathers, that affirm S. *Peters* priority in the same Fundamental station with the rest Apostles. Thus then (l) S. *Ambrose* glosseth of S. *Peters* Confession of Christ, *Mat.*

§ 9.

(l) *Ambros. de Sacram. Domin. Incar.*

16. *Art thou silent Simon, that art the chiefest, primus? ... I say, he, when he heard this, Whom say ye that I am? remembering his place, assumed the primacy, viz. the primacy of Confession, not of Honour, not of Order, the primacy of Faith, not of Order. -- This therefore is that Peter, that answered before, nay for the rest: and is therefore the Foundation, because he knew not only to observe his own peculiar, but also the common duty of them all. And Origen doth not only af-*

(m) Orig. Hom.  
in Matth. 16.

ter his mystical and anagogical manner make all such Christian Confessors as S. Peter was, to have the same fundamental Dignity with S. Peter, but also doth literally argue against the singularity of S. Peter in this fundamental Power. (m) *But if, saith he, thou thinkest the Church to be built by God on that Peter alone, what sayst thou of James and John the Sons of Thunder, and of each Apostle? Therefore it was indeed truly said unto Peter, Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church, &c. yet it seemeth to be said to all the Apostles, and all perfectly faithful persons, &c. Thô yet however he elsewhere acknowledgeth S. Peter's Primacy. In the next place we will examin the sense of the great Boanerges of the Latin Church S. Hierom on this matter. He then, thô above cited for the Primacy of S. Peter, yet when Jovinian from this Primacy of S. Peter, who was a married man, would advance Matrimony above Celibate, thus replyeth: (n) But if thou sayst the Church is founded on Peter, althô in another place that Foundation is laid on all the Apostles, and all received the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and the strength of the Church be built on them, yet therefore one among the twelve is chosen, that by the constitution of an Head the occasion of Schism may be taken away, and that preference rather given to the married Peter being aged, than to the Virgin John being but young. See Chrys. ex var. in Matt. loc. Hom. 17.*

(n) Hier. Ep.  
par. 1. Tract. 2.  
Ep. 9. c. 14.

§ 10.

§ 10. The second Clause of S. Peters Charter expresseth the donation of the Keys, of which as S. Hierom in the very last Citation testifieth, that all the Apostles received them, so the like is averred by (o) S. Hilary, *That the Apostles did all receive the Keys of Heaven.* Therefore thô the words were only first promised to him, yet was the Power after collated on the whole Colledge.

(o) Hilary. in  
Psalm 52.

§ 11.

§ 11. The third Clause in S. Peter's Charter contains the

the Power of Binding and Loosing, in which indeed S. Peter had a priority of Promise on the account of his present and future Primacy, but no peculiarity therein above, or exclusively of the rest. For the same power of binding and loosing was after promised all the (p) Apostles without any real distinguishing excellency of it in S. Peter above others, tho' Origen fancies a more singular eminency (q) in S. Peter's Charter *Matth. 16.* than in this of all the Apostles or the Church, in that he had a power to bind and loose *in iis,* *Matth. 16.* and they only *in eis,* *Matth. 18.* which though it proceeded from a received sense which he had of S. Peter's Primacy, yet is surely in its self too slender a Nicety to conclude any specifical distinction or gradual eminency in this power of S. Peter above the rest Apostles, &c.

(p) *Matth. 18.*  
& *Chrys. in loc.*

(q) *Orig. in*  
*Matth. c. 13.*

§ 12. The next thing we come to examin, is the *Pasce Oves*, the Charge of feeding Christ's sheep: which being spoken to S. Peter alone in the presence of the rest Apostles, denotes in him a primacy of Care, but not a solitude in that Pastoral Charge. The reason hereof

§ 12.

(r) assigned by S. Augustine is, because our Saviour framed in him the uniformity or unity of the whole Christian Church. And the personal direction of this Charge to S. Peter is with S. Basil significative of his Primacy, but withal of its derivation from S. Peter to all Doctors. (s) Christ, saith he, next himself makes Peter Pastor of his Church; Peter, saith he, lovest thou me more than these? Feed my sheep: and consequently gave the same power to all Pastors and Doctors, &c. and therefore, say I, most certainly to the other Apostles. See *Chrys. Hom. 77. on Matth. 24.*

(r) *Aug. de verb*  
*Dom. in Evan.*  
*Matth. Serm. 8.*  
*Dicit enim Pe-*  
*tro in quo uno*  
*format Ecclesi-*  
*am — Pasce*  
*oves meas.*

(s) *Basil. de*  
*vit. solitar. c. 23.*

§ 13. We shall conclude this account of S. Peter's primacy over the twelve in the same equal Apostolic Power with the Comment of S. Cyprian on both S. Peter's Charter in *Matth. 16.* and his Charge *John 21.* in one com-

§ 13.



(r) *Cyprian. de*  
*Unitat. Eccles.*  
§ 3.

complex and coherent Discourse, wherein he makes the Churches unity to be the only reason of S. Peter's priority in the same equality of honour and power. Thus then S. Cyprian, (r) *The Lord saith unto Peter, I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, and on this Rock will I build my Church, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven. And again, after his Resurrection he saith to the same Peter, Feed my sheep. Upon that one he buildeth his Church, and committeth his sheep to be fed by him, and thō after his Resurrection he giveth equal power to all the Apostles, and saith. As my Father sent me, so send I you, Receive the Holy Ghost; Whose sins ye shall remit, they shall be remitted him, and whose sins ye shall retain, shall be retained; yet that he might manifest unity, he constituteth one Chair (i. e. one Chairman among the whole Colledge) and by his Authority disposeth the original of the same unity beginning from one. Indeed the rest Apostles were the same thing with Peter, endued with the same community of honour and power: But the priority proceedeth from unity. The primacy is given to Peter, that the Church of Christ and its Chair may appear one. And all are Pastors, but the Flock is shewn to be one which is fed by all the Apostles by unanimous consent. By which as S. Peter's primacy is attested against too obstinate Protestants, so is his power or real honour denied to be greater than that of the rest; no internal donation more in S. Peter than in the rest, and so no foundation for that mighty Supremacy now challenged by his Successors in the See of Rome. See Epiphan. in Anchorat.*

§ 14.  
(u) *Hom. de*  
*Jonā Prophet.*  
& *Hom. 4. de*  
*verb. Esā. Vidi*  
*Domini.*

§ 14. But that which above all takes off the universal Monarchy from S. Peter, is the apparent equality of S. Paul with him. For that wherein (u) S. Chrysostom (or

(or the Author under his name) placeth S. Peter's primacy, viz. in a Commission of taking care of the Church of the whole World, (tho S. Paul saith, that the Gospel only of the Circumcision was committed to Peter, Gal. 2. 7, 8, 9.) S. Paul challengeth, if not as his own peculiar, yet certainly his equal Charge with the chiefest Apostles, 2 Cor. 11. 28. That he was daily loaded with the care of all the Churches: Those Churches which S. Peter at Antioch did seemingly, according (x) to Origen and Chrysostom and S. Hierom, but really according to S. Augustine and the Commentator bearing the name of S. Ambrose, neglect, Gal. 2. And for that neglect was either in earnest, or else by way of prudent dispensation, checked by S. Paul; (y) which if Bataneotes and Porphyrie had understood, whatsoever upon this reproof they might fix upon S. Peter for dissembling, they would never have taxed S. Paul as disorderly and saw-cy to his Superior; for S. Peter was not such to S. Paul, whatsoever he was to the other Apostles. For thus the Commentator Ambrose argues his equality from this very passage from which those Heathens would charge him with Impudence. (z) Paul, saith he, names only Peter, and compares him with himself, because he himself also received a primacy to found the Church: he was in equal manner chosen to the primacy of founding the Churches of the Gentiles, but so that Peter also might preach to the Gentiles, if there should have been cause, and so Paul to the Jews, for both of them are found so to have done: But yet the full authority in preaching to the Circumcision was distinctly given to Peter, and the perfect authority in preaching to the Gentiles is found to be in Paul. And as Peter had in society with him those excellent men among the Apostles James and John, so Paul joyned to him Barnabas, being added to him by the judgment of God. But yet he claimeth to himself the grace of primacy granted him

(x) Hieron. lib. 1. in Epist. ad Galat. ad ver. 20. & Epist. par. 2. Tract. 2. Ep. 107. Chrys. Comment. in Gal. 2.  
(y) Hier. Proem. in Epist. ad Gal. & Epist. par. 2. Tract. 2. Ep. 107.

(z) Amb. in Gal. c. 2. v. 7, 8.

him by the Lord, as it was granted only to Peter among the twelve Apostles. For who of the less Apostles would dare to resist the prime Apostle Peter, to whom the Lord had given the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, but another such only, who by the confidence of his Election, durst stoutly disprove what the other did unadvisedly? &c. And lest any should think S. Paul inferior to S. Peter, because he went up to Jerusalem, and abode with him fifteen days, Gal. 1. 18. the same Commentator thus glosseth hereupon: (a) It was fit that he should desire to see Peter,

(a) *Amb.* in  
Gal. 1. 18.

who was chief among the Apostles, to whom our Saviour had delegated the care of the Churches, not indeed that he might learn any thing of him, who had been already learned from the Author, by whom even Peter himself had been instructed, but for the love of his Apostolacy. And the real S. Ambrose, as he makes the whole Colledge of Apostles equal as to the essence of the grace and power Apostolic, so he equals S. Peter and S. Paul as to their Canonical primacy: (b) Nor, saith he, is Paul inferior to Peter, tho' Peter is the Founder of the Church, and Paul the wise Master-builder, knowing how to fix the steps of believing People. Nor is Paul unworthy the fellowship of the Apostles, but easily to be compared with the chiefest, and second to none of them. And S. Cyprian also takes notice of the parity of S. Paul with S. Peter in the Expostulation of Antioch about Circumcision:

(c) *Cypr.* ad  
Quint. Ep. 7.

(c) For neither, saith he, did Peter, whom the Lord chose chief, or first, [primum] and on whom he built his Church, when Paul afterward reasoned with him about the Circumcision, insolently claim, or arrogantly assume any thing to himself, so as to say, that he held the primacy, and that later Novels (such as S. Paul was) ought to obey him, &c. Which he brings as a curb to the haughtiness of Pope Stephen, upon the primacy of the Roman See. (d) Thus Maximus also makes S. Peter and S. Paul two equal Primates

(d) *Max. Ser.*  
int. *Amb.* 66. &  
int. *Augustini.*  
an. de Sanct. 27.

of

of the Apostles, tho' all endued with the same equal internal Grace: *Whereas, saith he, all the blessed Apostles obtain the equal grace of holiness with the Lord, yet I know not how Peter and Paul seem to excel the rest in a certain peculiar vertue of faith toward our Saviour.*—

*Therefore the blessed Peter and Paul are eminent among all the Apostles. But of them whether shall be preferred? For I think they were equal in merits, who were equal in suffering, &c.* Nay, so great was S. Paul even compared

with S. Peter, that (e) the same Author fancies the equality of their Keys to consist herein, that S. Paul's Keys were those of Knowledge, as S. Peters those of Power: And had this distinction been true or solid, as it is not, the primacy of the Keys of Knowledge, as an internal Grace, had been greater than that of Power without it, because such naked Power had been but an external Honour and Trust; but the truth is, they had the same Power, and so were equal: but whether there was any difference in their divine wisdom is not manifest, and so cannot give any sensible distinction of any Superiority between them in the Keys of Knowledge, the Fathers making them equal in the internal Graces, and the fervency of their faith, and love. See and compare *Chrys. Hom. 51. in Matth. 14. Hom. 52. in Matth. 15. with that of the same Chrysost. in Act. 9. Hom. 20.* But because our enquiry is concerning an external primacy for Political Order, we will examin the sense of the great S. Chrysostom concerning the comparison of these two great Apostles. And first, we will take notice of his Elogies on S. Peter, whom he every where calls the Prince, the Top, the *Coryphæus*, the Primate of the Apostolic Choir, the Mouth of the Disciples, the Pillar of the Church, the Firmament of Faith, Foundation of Confession, the Fisher, and Prelate of the whole World, the Conqueror of the World, the Support of

(e) Aug. de  
Sanct. ibid.

(f) Chrys. in  
Galat. c. 2.  
(g) Chrys. Hom.  
3. in Matt. c. 3.

Religion, yet (f) doth he make S. Paul not only equal to S. Peter, but the chiefest of all the Apostles. For, saith he, that as thro' humility S. Peter became the (g) Foundation of the Church, so by the same (or perhaps a greater) humility S. Paul became the chiefest of all the Apostles. And the truth is, the Church of the Gentiles, tho' less honourable as to their natural Originals than that of the Jews, who descended from the holy Patriarchs, and had the Law and the Prophets, the Adoption, and the Glory, and the Promises, and the Nativity of Christ, yet being more glorious as to its numbers and amplitude, and the readiness of believing without any previous Institution in the Law and the Prophets, is a more illustrious Province to S. Paul than that of the Jews was to S. Peter, as using more Christian liberty from Jewish Rituals, than the generality of believing Jews under S. Peter's charge had arrived to in all S. Peter's days thro' the predominancy of the Tradition of their Fathers: And after the last devastation of Jerusalem by the Emperor Adrian, they became concorporate with the Gentile Church, and subject

(h) Euseb. Eccl.  
Hist. l. 5. c. 12.  
Epiph. Hæres.  
70.

(h) to Gentile and uncircumcised Bishops after the cessation of their circumcised Catalogue consisting of fifteen Prelates. So that he that laboured more abundantly than all the rest Ministers of Christ, of whom the Corinthians boasted to lessen him, 2 Cor. 11. 23. was nothing behind the very chiefest Apostles, 2 Cor. 12. 11. but had indeed the largest Field assigned him, and received from it the most plentiful Harvest, the greatest number of Christian Profelytes of all the Apostles: and therefore, if every Apostle at first was Bishop over his own Converts, of which I think there can be no doubt, it follows that S. Paul had a much larger Episcopal Province and Jurisdiction than any one Apostle, not excepting S. Peter himself. So that were it not that Folly al-

ways



ways attends falshood, I should wonder why the Modern Romanists derive their universal Dominion only from S. Peter, who had it only over the Jews, (and that not solitary, but sociated) and not over the Gentiles: (and consequently not the Romans themselves): For thō S. Peter was a Bishop, and had his Chair at Rome, yet his Authority was not over the Gentiles while S. Paul was at Rome: (i) and S. Paul lived at Rome longer than S. Peter by an exact Twelve month, if we will receive the Testimony of *Prudentius*, who looks like a very certain Author in this Relation, being seconded herein by *Maximus*, (k) or the Author of the Sermons *De Sanctis*, who having, like S. Hierom, said they were martyred the same day in one Sermon, doth in (l) another explain it of the next Anniversary, not the same numerical day. *Non quidem eodem temporis cursu, sed eodem anni vertentis occurso.* And so S. Peter never had Supremacy over the Gentile Church of Rome, or elsewhere. And therefore thō called by S. Chrysostom, and others, the Head, and Prelate of the whole World, it must be understood no more strictly than that, when he calls him the Fisher or Victor of the whole World, that is, a Converter, and must be interpreted not solely, but in conjunction with others, it being otherwise contradictory to plain truth: Thō Complements and Rhetorical Epithets be allowably licentious beyond exact literal strictness, even as (m) John Bishop of Jerusalem is said to have saluted Theophilus Bishop of Alexandria, with the dignity of having lodged in him the Care of all the Churches, which S. Paul eminently chal-  
lengthen to himself, and S. Chrysostom also ascribes to S. Peter. Which Complement must be understood in conjunction with the other Patriarchates within the Roman Empire, of Rome, Constantinople, and Antioch, or else must

(i) Prudent. Po-  
risteph. Pass. Pe-  
tr. & Paul.

(k) Ser. de Sanct.  
int. Aug. 26. int.  
Ambros. 66.  
(l) Ser. de Sanct.  
ibid. 28.

(m) Hieron. Ep.  
par. 1. Tract. 3.  
Epist. 22.

needs be a most fullsom, false, and intolerable flattery.

§ 16. We shall now finally determine wherein the primacy of *S. Peter* doth consist. Now it must be observed, which all the Fathers from the Scriptures deliver to us, viz. that among the Twelve chosen by our Saviour before his death, there were three chief Apostles, *S. Peter*, *S. James* Major, and *S. John*, who were alone sometimes admitted to greater Mysteries, as that of the Transfiguration, &c. and to whom, if we believe that in (n) the seventh Book of *Clemens Alex. Hypotyposes*, after his Resurrection, Christ did deliver the Divine Knowledge, and they delivered it to the rest Apostles. But however, not only among the Twelve, but even this especial *Triumvirate*, *S. Peter* always hath a prolocutory precedency with our Lord, because our Lord gave him this preference in the Mission of the Twelve, naming him for the first, *Matth. 10. 2.* and therefore justly demanding a greater love from him than from the rest, *Joh. 21. 15, 16, 17.* And as he had this priority in conversing with and ministring under our Lord, while he was on Earth, so did he use the same afterward in all the Consults and Ministeries of the Apostolic Colledge. Thus he first moves to the Disciples for the Election of an Apostle in the room of *Judas*, *Acts 1.* At the Feast of *Pentecost* he makes Apology for all the Convent speaking with several Tongues from the imputation of Drunkenness; and so was, tho' not the sole, yet the chiefest Instrument of converting three thousand Souls, *Acts 2.* When *S. Peter* and *S. John* went up into the Temple, *S. Peter* answers the same Eleemosynarie with a miraculous Cure; and preached to the People amazed thereat, *Acts 3.* and being for that examined by the *Sanhedrin*, *S. Peter* first speaks, as Christ's principal Confessor, as well as Apostle, *Acts 4.* and

(n) Apud Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 7. c. 1.

and so for all the Apostles, *Acts 5.* S. Peter taxes, as Prolocutor to all the Colledge, *Ananias and Sapphira* for their perjurious Sacrilege, *Acts 5.* S. Peter in his own and S. John's behalf, execrates the Impiety of *Simon Magus*, *Acts 8.* S. Peter first gives his Sentence in the Council Apostolical at *Jerusalem*, *Acts 15.* And as he was thus prime Founder of the Faith of the Jews, so he was God's first, tho' not greatest Instrument of converting the Gentiles, in teaching and baptizing the Family and Friends of *Cornelius* the devout *Italian Centurion*, *Acts 10.* Upon which *Maximus* (o) saith, that *Peter* was called the *Petra*, the Rock, for his Devotion, called *Peter*, because he first laid the Foundation of Faith among the Gentiles. And *Tertullian*, tho' thro' his *Montanism* writing eagerly against Ecclesiastic Penance, and Absolution of Fornicators admitted by the Bishop of *Rome*, in the fury of his Choler he denies the Succession of the Keys, and of Binding and Loosing to the Church; yet he very rightly observes, (p) that S. *Peter's* personal primacy consists in his first conversion of the Jews by his Sermon at *Jerusalem* on the Feast of *Pentecost*; and the Gentiles at *Cæsarea* in the House of *Cornelius*. And in this, and his being Prolocutor always in the Apostolic Colledge, either to Christ, the Apostles, or others (which is only for orders sake to avoid confusion, that where a business is to be transacted by many, one must begin first) is all that we can find of S. *Peters* being more prime or fundamental than any other Apostle in the power Hierarchical.

(o) *Maxim. Ser. in Ambros. 47.*

(p) *Tertull. de Pudicitia.*

§ 17. From the personal primacy then of S. *Peter* descend we to the Succession, and therein examin whether these Texts containing S. *Peters* Charter and Charge, according to the sense of the primitive Fathers, do from the person of S. *Peter* transmit the sustaining of the Catholic Church, the power of the Keys, and of Binding and

§ 17.

and Loosing, the Indeficiency of Faith, and the Pastoral Regency only to the Bishop of Rome, or if unto others also, whether co-ordinately, or subordinately to the Roman Bishop.

§ 18.

§ 18. Observing then our regular Method, we begin with S. Peter's Charter, and therein with the three

(q) Cyp. Lapsus  
Epist. 27. Inde  
per temporum  
& successionum  
vices Episco-  
pum ordinatio,  
& Ecclesia ra-  
tio decurrit, ut  
Ecclesia super  
Episcopos consti-  
tuatur, & om-  
nes alius Eccle-  
sia per eosdem  
propositos gu-  
bernentur.  
(r) Cyp. de U-  
nit. Eccl. Epis-  
copatus unus est,  
cujus à singulis  
in solidum pars  
tenetur.

grand Clauses in which it is expressed: On which (q) we have this suffrage of that excellent Saint and Martyr Cyprian, That the whole Charter promised to S. Peter, Matth. 16. is successive to all the Bishops indiscriminate-ly, on whom the Church is from S. Peter successive-ly founded, and who have the disposing of all its Offi-ces and Acts. Where he makes the Church Catholic to be upheld, supported by, and erected on, not any one single Bishop, of any one single See, but upon all the (r) Colledge Episcopal, or rather the common Epif- copacy, which every particular Bishop doth entirely en-joy, and administer to his own particular Charge. A great and excellent dignity, that was first fundamen- tally lodged in our Saviour, the great universal Monar- chical Bishop of Bishops and Souls, then committed by him to his Apostles, and by the Apostles to the chief Pastors, which they ordained in the Sees Apostolic, and by these Apostolic Bishops to others, according to the enlargement and propagation of the Christian Church.

(f) Cyp. Flo-  
rent. alias Pupi-  
an. Ep. 69. § 7.  
Illi sunt Eccle-  
sia, plebs Sacer-  
doti suo aduna-  
ta, & pastori suo  
grex adherens:  
unde scire debes  
Episcopum in  
Ecclesia esse, &  
Ecclesiam in  
Episcopo.

As then the Faith, which we have in the Principles of Christianity, is the Foundation of all Christian Graces in the Soul, and the inner dispensation of Eternal Life, so is Episcopacy the Foundation of all visible Union and Government in the Ecclesiastical Body, inasmuch that were there no one Bishop left in the World, the Integrity at least, if not the very (f) Essence of the Church, would be destroyed. And from hence we have a certain Argument, that all Ecclesiastical Power could not be solely lodged in S. Peter first, and then transmitted to the

the only Bishop of one See as to be the only Foundation of the Hierarchy, and the Church. For then, upon the very first vacancy of such See, on the death of any Bishop thereof, the Foundation is totally sunk and by consequence the whole Structure destroyed, the whole Church dissolved. Nor is it in such case possible to preserve a single Church from such a vacancy, except every such Sovereign Bishop consecrates a Successor before his death to succeed him immediately after, that so the See may be full in the very moment in which the Predecessor expires: which every one knows, since the time of *S. Clemens*, hath not been the constant or usual method of Succession at *Rome*, but they have had not only very many, but also many times very long Inter-papacies. If then the Bishop of *Rome*, in the sole right of *S. Peter*, be the only Foundation on which the Church is built, what becomes of the Church at every vacancy of this fundamental See? For hereupon either those other subordinate Bishops continue Bishops in the Inter-papacy in their own independent right, or their power being derivative, expires with the primitive. If it continues and subsists of it self, then are the People under their Charge so many particular Churches, which collectively make up the Church Catholic, which then can subsist without a Bishop of *Rome*, and then the Clergy and People of the vacant Diocese of *Rome* are subject to the Bishops of the Catholic Church: (or else they are unchurched while all others continue); so that tho' a Bishop be convenient to that place, and People, and so far necessary, that without one they cannot be an entire particular Church, yet is not that Succession necessary to the being or continuance of the Catholic Church, nor yet to make that particular vacant Diocese of *Rome*: a part of the Catholic Church, being, during the vacancy, under the care of the rest  
parts



parts of the Church for all necessary and convenient supplies. But if all Bishops, and consequently all minor Orders Ecclesiastical, expire, then are we left in a meer state of Nature, all our Sacraments are gone, and none left to ordain a new Bishop at *Rome*, or any where else. But supposing that other Bishops do still subsist to maintain the Succession at *Rome*, and all places besides, I shall ask then, on a new Election at *Rome*, who is it that creates us a new Pope, and gives a new Foundation to the Catholic Church? Is it not the Bishops of other Sees, who for that reason are Founders themselves of the new created Pope? If then this first part of *S. Peters* Charter be successive, as I with the Romanists believe it to be, (but in *S. Cyprian's* sense) then according to *S. Cyprian*, it must be successive to every Bishop, whose essential equality consists in this, that every Bishop is a person constituted by Divine Right to oversee the state, and dispose, order, and perform all Acts and Offices Ecclesiastical.

§ 19. The second Clause in this Charter promised to *S. Peter*, entitles him to the power of the Keys, which if we make distinct from that of Binding and Loosing, or not common to all the Apostles, contrary to the sense of the Fathers, because our Saviour, when he promised them all, and the Church after them, the power of Binding and Loosing, *Matth. 18.* and actually invested them with a power of remitting and retaining sins, *John 20.* and of teaching and baptizing all Nations, *Matth. 28.* did not expressly nominate the Keys; I must then reply, That this Argument will make the Right of the Keys so personally peculiar to *S. Peter*, as not to be communicable to his Successors at *Rome*, who were not superior to *S. James*, or *S. John*, and the whole Apostolic Colledge in the Authority Episcopal. For who will think that the beloved Apostle (†) *S. John*, whom *S.*

*Augustine*

(†) *Aug. Sermon.*  
in *Evangel. Jo.*  
*ban. Tract. 124.*

*Augustine* in a very exquisite and critical manner comparing with *S. Peter*, cannot determine the majority; that beloved Apostle, that lay in our Lord's Bosom, that was the adopted Son and Keeper of the Virgin Mother, who lived till *Trajan's* days, long after the Martyrdom of *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*, to be inferiour, subject to, and determinable by *Linus*, or *Cletus*, or *Clemens*, or *Evaestus*, unto whose days perhaps he lived? Had this been so, how comes it to pass, that the Gospel and first Epistle of *S. John* are received in all Ages for Canonical Scriptures? And that of *S. Clemens Romanus* to the *Corinthians*, tho' so highly venerable, as to have been publickly read, not only in the Church of *Corinth*, but other Churches, yet was not inserted into the Canon, but so neglected even by the Roman Church, in whose Name it was written, that not one Copy of it hath been found in any Library of the whole Western Church, till of late *Cyril* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, sent a most ancient Copy thereof, written by *Teccla* about the time of the *Nicene* Council to King *Charles* the First? Beside, if the Bishop of *Rome* had had all the Keys of Knowledge and Power at his own Girdle exclusively of *S. John*, the *Asian* Churches did very irregularly, when long after the death of *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*, they addressed (u) to *S. John*, and not to *S. Cle-* (u) *Hieron. de*  
*mens* Bishop of *Rome*, for a Key Theological, I mean a *vir. illustrib. in*  
Gospel to declare the Theology of Christ against the *Joan. Apost.*  
*Cerinthian* and *Ebionitic* Heresies, (x) and to ordain (x) *Clem. Alex.*  
them Bishops by the judgment of the Spirit that was *πῆς ὁ συνδμ.*  
in him, to secure them against depravations, if the *πλῆσ. § 42.*  
Successor of *S. Peter* at *Rome* had been more mighty in the Power of God and Godliness, to have settled their Affairs: But in truth, the power of the Keys, as it was given to all the Apostles indeed, tho' not promised in form of words, so is it successive from *S. Peter* and the

K

Apostles

Apostles to their chief Successors, the Bishops of the Christian Church, which now it lyes upon me to prove by congruous Citations from Antiquity.

§ 20.

(y) *Scorpiac.*  
adv. Gnostic.  
*Memento clavos*  
*ejus* (i. e. Hea-  
ven) *hic Domi-*  
*num Petro, &*  
*per eum Ecce-*  
*sia reliquise,*  
*quas hic unus-*  
*quisque interro-*  
*gatus, & con-*  
*fessus, feret se-*  
*cum.*

(x) *Ambr. de*  
*Dignit. Sacerd.*  
*c. 2.*

(a) *Ambr. de*  
*Penitent. l. 1. c.*  
*6.*

(b) *Hom. 24. in*  
*Matth. c. 7.*

(c) *Chrys. Hom.*  
*60. in Matth.*  
*18.*

§ 20. And first I will confront *Tertullian* with *Tertullian*, who thō in a fit of *Montanism* he denied the succession of the Keys to the Roman Church, and indeed to the Church Catholic, vindicating it only to *Montanus*, on the right of a Prophetic Charisma, yet at another time and place, in a cooler and more impartial temper, (y) he acknowledgeth against the *Gnostic's* the succession of the Keys from *S. Peter* to the Church, thō I confess, not so much in the form of a judicial, or authoritative, as a saving Priviledge, not to Prelates, but to Confessors in the Church, thrō an allegorizing fancy, accommodating the Hierarchical Constitutions to the Eternal Mysteries, which are prefigured in them. And so the Author *de Dignitate Sacerdotali* among the Works, and bearing the name of *S. Ambrose*, thō (z) he seems to make the Keys to be the Doctrine of the Gospel, yet he saith, that in *S. Peter* all the *Sacerdotes*, that is, the Bishops, received them. But the real *S. Ambrose* (a) makes Ecclesiastical Absolution of Penitents to be an Exercise of the power of the Keys, and a *Depositum* in the Church descending from *S. Peter*: And so (b) doth *S. Chrysostom* also, making the power of the Keys a power in the Church, not only of rebuking, but of punishing, and the same with that of binding and loosing, which (c) he saith was given to the Church, that is, the Prelates of it. But it being not to my purpose at this time to discuss, whether these Keys, promised to *S. Peter*, be the Keys of Knowledge, or of Government, or Stewardship in the great House of God the Church, I shall only observe how truly and judiciously they are assered to be successive. For the Key of Knowledge was not only *S. Peter's* portion, but also

of all the Apostles, and all the Doctors of the Church, for ever. That Key, that lets into the Church by Baptism first, and afterwards by Absolution, and shuts out by Censure, must hang at the Girdle of every chief Governour at least in every particular Church. So that the very nature, use, and design of these Keys proves them to be hereditary, not only to one, but very many Successors. And therefore the Fathers on sound Judgment have delivered Episcopacy to be Fundamental, and the Keys successive from S. Peter and the rest Apostles, tho' our Saviour never made this Grant to them all in these words, but only to S. Peter. For we must know that this Charter of S. Peter (d) (d) Chrys. Hom. 55. in Matth. 16. *Matth. 16.* was but here promised him to be actually given hereafter, and was no present Collation or Investiture, and so we must say of the Charter Apostolic or Episcopal, *Matth. 18.* But afterward in the actual donation of power, our Lord gave no more to S. Peter than the rest. For just before his death he gives them equal Commission to administer the Eucharist; after his Resurrection he equally gives them power to Teach, Baptize, Remit, and Retain: The Election of *Matthias* was an Affair in common, the descent of the Spirit was on them all; and S. Peter had no other inherent distinctive Grace above the others, but only a Prolocutory Antecedency. So then since our Saviour Christ fulfilled his promise to S. Peter, and yet gave him no specifically different Authority really distinct from that of the rest, it follows, that the order of the other Apostles was as Fundamental in the Ecclesiastic structure as S. Peter's, and that they had the same Keys of Knowledge, Doctrines, Sacraments, and Censures as he had, which therefore, being in their own nature and design successive, descended not only on all Bishops of S. Peter's Ordination, but of the other Apostles also, and

from them to their Successors for ever by virtue of our Lord's promise, *Matth. 28. Lo I am with you unto the end of the World.*

§ 21. § 21. The third Clause in the Charter promised to S. Peter is the power of Binding and Loosing, which as it was also shortly after promised all the Apostles, and the Church in them, in the same words, so shall I explicitly alledge the Testimony of the Ancients for the succession of it to all Bishops. Thus therefore *Origen*, tho on *Matth. 16.* and the words of this Charter, he after his manner allegorizeth, and requires sanctity as well as authority in a Bishop to bind or loose; yet he doth thereby acknowledge the succession of Power, if there be also an Episcopal sanctity: And (e) elsewhere without such restriction he declareth the Canonical descent of this Power to the Bishops of the Church: *Thou seest therefore, saith he, that God did not only deliver Offenders into the hands of their Enemies (viz. Devils) by his Apostles, but sinners also are delivered to the destruction of the Flesh by them which rule in the Church, and have power to loose and bind, when for their sins they are separated from the Body of Christ.* And S. Cyprian also to *Jubaian* maketh (f) S. Peter's Charter, and that of Remitting and Retaining given to the Apostles, to be the same, and maketh Baptism to be a Branch of the power of Binding and Loosing (as it is Fundamental in Christianity) as well as of Remitting and Retaining, and successive to the Prelates of the Church: And for the succession of the Apostolic power of Remitting and Retaining, *Firmilian* pronounceth clearly, That (g) the power of remitting sins was given to the Apostles, and the Churches, which they, being sent by Christ, constituted, and the Bishops which succeeded them in a vicarious Ordination. And like S. Cyprian, makes this Charter the same with S. Peter's, and the power and

(e) *Orig. Hom. 2. in Judic. 2.*

(f) *Cyp. Jubaian. Ep. 75. § 6. Unde intelligimus non nisi in Ecclesia propositus licere baptizare, & remissionem peccatorum dare: foris autem nec ligari aliquid posse, nec solvi, ubi non est qui ligare possit aliquid, aut solvere.*

(g) *Firmil. ad Cyp. int. Ep. Cyprian. Ep. 75. § 14.*

au-



authority of baptizing a part of it. So S. Chrysostom makes the power of Binding and Loosing to be successive (b) to the Church, that is, (i) to the Prelates of it. And in like manner (k) S. Augustine makes it a very useful power lodged in the Church for the comfort and restitution of Penitents, that whatsoever the Church shall loose on Earth shall be loosed in Heaven. So that by these few, among infinite Testimonies of the Ancients, I think all the Charter promised S. Peter, to be proved entirely common to all the Apostles, and so likewise successive to the Catholic Church, that is, the Bishops of it.

(b) Chrys. Hom. 24. in Matth. 7.

(i) Chrys. Hom. 60. in Matth. 18. & Hom. 5.

in verb. Esai. — vidi Dominum.

(k) Aug. de verb. Domini in Evang. secund.

Matth. Ser. 8.

§ 22. Pass we then from S. Peter's Charter to his Pastoral Charge of Feeding Christ's sheep, John 21. and we shall find, that as from the Nature of the Duty, so from the Sense of the Ancients, as common to the rest Apostles, so derivative to all Doctors Ecclesiastical. For thus averreth the great S. Basil, That Christ, who (l) next himself constituted Peter Pastor of his Church, did consequently give the same power to all Pastors and Doctors: of which this is a sign, that they all equally bind, and equally loose. Of which there can be no doubt, since the Scripture assureth us, that God hath planted in the Church Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, and Teachers, Eph. 4. 11. And S. Paul chargeth the Elders of the Ephesian Church to feed the Church of God, over which the Holy Ghost had made them Bishops, Acts 20. 28. Nay, (m) S. Chrysostom makes the Pastoral Duty to descend from S. Peter's Pasce Oves, not only to Bishops, but to every one to whom the meanest Flock is committed, yea even unto Masters and Mistresses of Families; so far is it from being peculiar to S. Peter's own Person, or one ordinary continued Successor in any See Episcopop. So then since the whole Charter and Pastoral Charge of S. Peter is in the sense of

§ 22.

(l) Basil. de vit. Solitar.]

(m) Chrys. Hom. 77. ad Matth.

24.

of

of the Fathers derivated from him and the Apostles immediately and principally to all Bishops of the Church, and the universal practice of the Churches Baptism, Censures and Discipline descends from, and refers it self to this Charter, I think the succession of it equally to all Bishops is proved fully by the Universal, Doctoral, and Practical Tradition of the Catholic Church.

§ 23.

§ 23. The last Text cited by your Author, is designed to insinuate the infallibility and indeficiency of Faith in all S. Peter's Successors at Rome, because Luke 22. 32. our Saviour Christ tells S. Peter, that he had prayed for him, that his Faith should not fail. I will not here alledge the typical interpretation of S. Augustine, That S. Peter was a Type of the Church Catholic, (as he seemeth to be in the several flowings and ebblings of his Zeal, the frequent Reciprocations of his Courage and Infirmities, and the Discipline used on him by Christ to reform and perfect him, as he doth his Church) and so conclude the sense to be, that Christ prayed for the Catholic Church in the type of S. Peter, that her Faith might not fail; but do only desire to have it proved by the suffrage of Antiquity, that it is the received sense of the primitive Church, and the uniform and avowed Doctrine of the primitive Doctors, that this Text transmits this certain indeficiency of Faith to the only Bishop of Rome, and I shall yield it, tho the Text it self, or the occasion of it, doth not import any the least succession of that certain Grace to any one but S. Peter's own person, For first, it was not indulged to the other Apostles, tho it was to S. Peter for the strengthening of them: For thus runs the Text; *Simon, behold, Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as Wheat: But I have prayed for thee, that thy Faith fail not, and when thou art converted, strengthen thy Brethren.* So that the plain intention is

is this, that, God having designed that the Apostolical Unity should be founded in the primacy of *S. Peter*, Christ had undertaken an especial Providence for him, that in this great temptation to Apostacy, from the death and sufferings of Christ, he might not utterly fall away; but since all the Apostles would timorously forsake him and fly, and he also at last should be so feeble, as for a moment to deny him, yet that his Faith should not utterly fail, but he should certainly and presently be converted, and weep bitterly, and upon that he is here forewarned to go and strengthen and re-encourage the Faith of the other fugitive Apostles, that hereby their Faith also might recover, and not fully or finally fail, but after *S. Peter* their Primate or Prolocutor, they also might be able to recover to an easie indeficiency of Faith. For to think that this certain indeficiency should be derived down from *S. Peter* only to the Bishop of *Rome*, without being communicated to the other Apostles, is such a vanity of imagination, as needs no confutation, but its own apparent incredibility. *S. Peter's* Faith then was absolutely secured from totally falling in that temptation, to the end he might be a means to recover his fallen Brethren, whom God willed to rise again freely to an indeficient Faith, but had not so absolutely decreed to secure them by his own immediate impulses, but committed them to the Moral means of Restitution by the counsel and example of their Primate: Nor was this any partiality in our Lord to *S. Peter* more than the rest, for this was granted him, not for his own sake only, but theirs also: For their natural weakness was such, that without some protection from above, they would all have finally or totally fallen away. Now God saw that the very erecting of one Apostle from his Fears, would enkindle the like spirit in the rest, or at least would be sufficient so to do; and who  
was

was so fit to be thus certainly re-erected by Christ, as the Primate of the Twelve; who as he had preceded them in all other acts of Faith, so he might also in this Conversion?

§ 24.

(n) *Greg. Naz.*  
de scip. ab agri.  
reverf. Ως ὁπ-  
λόν γὰ μὲν ὡς  
περὶ δέκα μὲν  
πρὸς τοὺς πε-  
νήμιοντες, καὶ τοὺς  
ἐκείνους περὶ  
μία ἰν ἐξ ἀρε-  
τῆς μόνος ἐμ-  
νωσκόμεθα.  
Νῦν δὲ τὸ δ-  
ξιδόν τῶν καὶ τὸ  
ἀειστέρον, καὶ τὸ  
μείζον, καὶ τὸ  
ὑψηλότερον, καὶ  
τὸ χαμαλω-  
τότερον, καὶ τὸ  
ἐξουσιάζον, καὶ  
ἐμκαθίζον  
πολλὰ πτωχὸν κα-  
τὰ σωφροσύ-  
νην ἡμῶν δι-  
ακρίνει, καὶ πε-  
λὰς εἰς βέβηρον  
ᾧσιν, καὶ εἰς τὴν  
τῶν ἐκείνων  
χάραν ἀπὸ γα-  
λῆν, καὶ τῶν χα-  
μῶν μόνον, ἀλλ'  
ἡδὴ καὶ τῶν  
πεινῶν. Vide  
*Chrys. Hom. 73.*  
in *Matth. 23.* &  
scpe alibi.  
(o) *Hieron. ad E.*  
*magr. par. 3.*  
*Tract. 3. Ep. 60.*

§ 24. Having thus explained the Texts cited for the Roman Monarchy, and stated the Originals of the Charter Hierarchical, we now come to examine the succession further, and therein try whether we can find the right of Papal Sovereignty descending from S. Peter to the See of Rome. This enquiry the too eager contentions of men about external Pre-eminence maketh necessary, tho' needless in it self: for that the evanid Glories of this World ought to be the object of Christian Contempt, not Ecclesiastical Ambition; (n) and he that is greatest, should in reality become the servant of all, and he that is least should emulate, not the external splendour, but the virtues and graces of the greatest. And since, as to the essentials of Episcopacy, all the Bishops are of equal merit, as equally Successors to the Apostles, therefore Rome should not despise *Eugubium*, nor *Constantinople Rhegium*, nor *Alexandria Tanis*. (o) For neither the power of Riches, nor the meanness of Poverty, doth make a Bishop superiour or inferiour to each other. But because those, that have obtained the greatest stations in the Church, have valued more their external Glory than the Churches Peace, and for that cause the Justice of God hath permitted those Glories to the Debascements and Vilifications of many Enemies, on which hath followed the violation of the Churches Unity by the violent Recipro- cation of the Saw about these Eminencies; for your satisfaction about these litigious Claims of Primacy, I shall give you the sincere senses of the Ancients, as the only just Weights and Measures to determine these unworthy Discords.

§ 25.

§ 25. The Papacy therefore, challenging a Sovereign power over the Catholic Church, founds its Title in the succession to S. Peter, and his Charter and Charge, which I have already explained. Upon which Explanation we might safely grant the Church of Rome as great a primacy above other Churches, as S. Peter (and S. Paul too put together) had over the other Apostles, without any danger or fear of Ecclesiastic slavery, provided always that S. Peter's Successors in the See of Rome succeed also in the integrity of S. Peter's Faith and Doctrine, without any Depravations or Innovations thereupon. But if any Bishop fails in these, which are Fundamentals, either to salvation, or the visible being or unity of the Church, or shall intrude or superadd any superstitious or impious Institutions, either in Faith, or Practice, tho' the Canonical Priviledges of his See be inviolate, or inviolable, yet every such particular Bishop may forfeit his Bishopric, or the accidental Dignities thereof, thro' the guilt of such Fundamental Prevarications, and thus have Patriarchs and Primates themselves been deposed by Councils even less than Occumenical. So that by parity of Reason and Justice, tho' we grant the highest primacy to the Roman See, we may hold any irregular Bishop of Rome corrigible and deprivable by the same Authority of Councils as other Bishops are, and tho' perhaps no Council be actually had, or to be had to pass censure on him, yet in the mean time every Bishop is at liberty to refuse Communion with him upon a Remonstrance against his uncommunicable irregularities to the whole Catholic Church, till he reform the Scandal. And therefore I will not object to them the second Council of Ephesus being Eutychian, (where Dioscorus the Eutychian Patriarch of Alexandria (p) did not only refuse Leo's Letters, and Determination, being Orthodox, but

(p) Eutych. Fecl.  
Hist. 2. c. 2. &c  
c. 4.

L

pro-



procured him to be Excommunicated by the whole Council) because the Council was Heretical as to the Faith; but yet it seems, that tho the Pope before this time was grown big and formidable, this Council was not conscious, that the Pope was incontrollable, if in an Heresie, as they believed *Leo* to be. But this I shall say, there were such Miscarriages in some Popes in ancient days, that had they not retracted them upon the Churches refusing to allow them, must and would have alienated the Church from their Communion at least, if not have ended in their Deposition, of which I shall have occasion to discourse anon in the process of this Enquiry.

- § 26. § 26. But tho I allow a Canonical Primacy in the See of *Rome*, as the Ancients do, above any other particular See, which I shall anon explain, yet can it not be founded in this Charge or Charter of *S. Peter*. For not to repeat that this Charter was but then promised, when expressed, as in *Matth.* 16. not actually collated, and was afterward given to all the Apostles in common with him without any singular preference, supposing or granting herein a primacy to be settled on *S. Peter's* own person, nay and that successive too, yet can it not be proved by the words of this Charter, that the succession was from him to be devolved on the Bishop of *Rome* alone. For allowing the primacy of *S. Peter* to be herein expressed, and intended also to his Successors, yet *S. Peter* had other Successors in other Episcopal Sees beside that of *Rome*, to whom therefore the primacy on this supposition must as equally descend as to the Bishop of *Rome*, because in the words of the Charter the succession is not assigned to any one sole or definite place. So that it must be understood entirely to descend to every Successor without restriction to any place, or to such single Successor as *S. Peter* himself should

should testamentally nominate. If on all that S. Peter should ordain Bishops, and their Successors, then the Charter can intend no single primacy, much less Monarchy at Rome or elsewhere. If the later determination be admitted, that S. Peter had power to bequeath this Charter of primacy to what Successor he pleased, which he actually did to the Bishops of Rome for ever, prove this roundly by any valid suffrage of Antiquity, and for my own part I will yield it. Know you then that there is a pretended Apostolical History, fathered on Abdias the pretended first Bishop of Babylon, who gives the very formula of S. Clemens his Ordination by S. Peter to the See of Rome, telling us, (q) *That when S. Peter, being at Rome, saw that his death was nigh, in a* (q) Abd. Bab. Hist. Apost. l. i. *Convent of the Brethren, taking Clemens by the hand, and rising, uttered these words in the ears of the whole Church: Hear my Brethren and fellow Servants, I will ordain you this Clemens for your Bishop, to whom alone I commit my Chair of Preaching and Doctrine. I deliver unto him the Power given me by the Lord of Binding and Loosing, that whatsoever he shall decree of any matters on Earth, may be decreed in Heaven. For he shall bind that which ought to be bound, and loose that which ought to be loosed. And when he had thus said, he laid his hands on him, and compelled him to sit in his Chair. Now thō there are a thousand Evidences to prove this Author supposititious, and a projector of Fables, yet I will give the Roman Cause more advantage than it can claim, and suppose him true at least in this relation, and yet will it not evince, that S. Peter transmitted his power and primacy only to S. Clemens. For thō to him alone he committed the Chair, and the power of Binding and Loosing at Rome, yet this hinders not, but that in other Sees he might have done the like to other Bishops by him elsewhere constituted. And withal, here is no mention of*

(r) *Rex Agrip* Building the Church upon him, or giving him the Keys, which were peculiar words in the Charter promised to S. Peter, but only that of Binding and Loosing, which was as expressly promised to the Apostles and the Church Prelates. So that either the founding of the Church, and the power of the Keys must be the same with Binding and Loosing, or however, common to all the Apostles, and all their Successors, or if they are any peculiar or primatic Privileges of S. Peter exclusively of the rest Apostles, they were not collated on S. Clements in this formula of Ordination set down in *Abdias*. So here is not the least shadow of primacy, and much less Monarchy conveyed to succession. Yet will I speak my Opinion freely, without envy or partiality, that I believe one cause of the primacy of that See was its plantation by S. Peter, but not sole; but in conjunction with S. Paul. And I have this Reason for it: Because, beside the Bishopric of Jerusalem, the (r) Metropolis of all the Jews of the World, and therefore the primatic See of all the Jewish Christians, (in the Constitution of which S. Peter, S. James, and S. John (s) had the sole, or chief management) the three great primatic Bishoprics of the Gentiles, Antioch, Rome, and Alexandria, were all of his Plantation, (tho at Antioch and Rome he had S. Paul to his fellow Founder) which must proceed from some especial consideration. For S. Peter was not only an Apostle at large, but also particularly (r) the first Residentiary Bishop of Antioch, and thence after translated to Rome. At Antioch, either with or after Eudorus, he ordained S. Ignatius to succeed him in that Apostolic See, the primatic Chair of the Orient, from whom descended the Antiochian succession. And tho we

(r) Rex Agrip.  
 Epist. ad Coim.  
 ap. Philon. de  
 Legat. ad Cai-  
 um. Mises-  
 tis de u. m. a. s.  
 χ. ω. ρ. ε. ε. δ. α. i.  
 α. s. α. λ. λ. α. τ. ο. ν  
 π. λ. ε. ι. σ. τ. ω. ν. δ. ι. α.  
 τ. ο. ν. α. π. ο. σ. τ. ο. λ. ι. σ. τ. ο. ν.  
 α. s. i. s. t. i. m. u. λ. α. r.  
 ο. π. η. χ. α. ρ. ω. ν. ε. ι. s.  
 μ. η. ν. τ. α. s. ο. μ. ω. ν. ε. s.  
 Α. γ. ρ. α. p. τ. ο. ν. φ. ο. i.  
 ν. i. κ. λ. ω. Σ. υ. ν. ε. ι. α. ν.  
 τ. ω. ν. π. ε. α. ν. δ. ρ. ω. ν.  
 κ. τ. ω. ν. κ. ο. i. λ. ω.  
 τ. ε. ρ. ο. ν. ο. ν. ο. ρ. ο. ν.  
 μ. η. ν. ω. ν. ε. i. s. τ. α. s.  
 π. ρ. ο. φ. η. θ. α. ν. δ. ι. ω.  
 κ. i. σ. μ. η. τ. α. s. Π. α. μ.  
 φ. ω. λ. ι. α. s. Κ. ι. λ. ι. κ. i.  
 α. ν. τ. α. π. ο. λ. λ. α.  
 τ. α. s. Α. σ. ι. α. s. α.  
 χ. ε. i. B. i. s. h. o. p. i. c. a. s.  
 κ. τ. ω. ν. κ. ε. λ. α.  
 Π. ο. λ. i. ο. ν. μ. υ. χ. α. ω. ν.  
 τ. ο. ν. α. υ. τ. η. ν. τ. ε. ρ.  
 π. ο. ν. κ. ε. i. s. E. u.  
 ρ. α. π. λ. ω. Ο. ε. τ. / α.  
 λ. ι. α. ν. Β. ο. i. ο. τ. ι. α. ν.  
 Μ. α. x. i. δ. ο. ρ. ι. α. ν.  
 τ. ω. ν. Α. ν. τ. i. ο. κ. ω. ν.  
 Α. γ. ρ. ο. Κ. ο. ε. ν.  
 τ. ο. ν. τ. α. π. λ. η. ρ. α.  
 κ. α. ε. i. s. α. Π. ε.  
 τ. ρ. ο. π. ω. ν. η. σ. α. κ. ε.  
 i. μ. ο. ν. ο. i. α. i. η.  
 τ. i. ε. ρ. i. μ. α. ρ. α. i.  
 τ. ο. ν. i. u. d. α. i. κ. ω. ν.  
 α. π. ο. σ. τ. ο. λ. ι. ω. ν. ε. i. s. π. i.  
 α. λ. λ. α. η. θ. ω. ν. α. i.  
 δ. ο. κ. i. μ. η. τ. i. τ. α. i. s.  
 Ε. c. c. l. e. s. i. a. Κ. υ.  
 ρ. ε. s. Κ. ρ. η. τ. i. κ. ε.  
 σ. i. ω. π. α. τ. α. s. π. i.  
 ρ. ω. ν. E. u. ρ. o. d. o. r. e. τ. i. s. ω. ν. κ. α. i. i. s. t. i. m. u. s. B. e. a. t. ω. ν. Ο. κ. ε. τ. ω. ν. α. λ. λ. ω. ν. α. i. α. γ. α.  
 τ. ω. ν. i. χ. υ. σ. i. τ. ω. ν. i. n. ω. κ. λ. ω. γ. λ. ω. i. u. d. α. i. κ. ω. ν. i. χ. υ. σ. i. n. ο. i. κ. α. τ. η. c. a. s. (s) Clem. Alex. Hypot. l. 6.  
 ap. Euf. Eccl. Hist. l. 2. c. 1. cum multis aliis. (r) Hieron. l. 1. in Epist. ad Galat. c. 2.

have

have no certain History that S. Peter was in person at *Alexandria*, yet is that also called (u) a See Apostolic, (a) *Soz. Eccl. Hist. l. i. c. 16.* as well as those of *Jerusalem*, *Antioch*, and *Rome*: not that any other Apostle was first Bishop there, but because S. Mark, (x) the Minister and Evangelist of S. Peter, (x) *Euf. Eccl. Hist. l. 2. c. 16. Greg. Naz. Serm. in Athanas. Hieron. in Catalog. in Marco.* was the first Bishop there, either by the sole Authority of S. Peter, or rather with the consent or counsel of S. Paul, S. John, or other Apostles, or Prophets, but certainly not without S. Peter's permission, if S. Peter were then alive, as certainly he was. For S. Mark (y) dyed (y) *Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 2. c. 24. Hieron. Catalog. in Marco.* at *Alexandria*, and left *Anianus* his successor in the eighth year of Nero's Empire. Whereas S. Hieron places the Martyrdom of S. Peter in the last, that is, (z) the fourteenth year of Nero's Reign, making S. Paul (a) also to be martyred the same day and year with him; whereas *Prudentius* and *Maximus*, above cited § 14. affirm S. Paul martyred the same day Twelve-month after S. Peter, by some mistake or inadvertency, either in him, or them; but however it proves S. Peter to be alive when S. Mark went to *Alexandria*, and therefore that he was sent thither by, and not without S. Peter's permission, delegation, and authority. For who could presume to take off S. Mark from his service to S. Peter without his allowance? So that it is evident, that S. Mark being no Apostle, but only an Evangelist, and subordinate Minister to S. Peter, could not assume a Bishopric to himself without an Apostolic Ordination, and particularly that of his own Father S. Peter. And this is the more probable, because he should seem to be sent only first to the Circumcision of *Alexandria*, from that (b) Jewish (b) *Hieron. in Catalog. in Marco.* way of life which his Converts used, described by *Philo de Supplicibus* in praise of the Jewish Nation: for that S. Peter was the Apostolical Primate of the Circumcision. What then can be imagined as the cause why S. Peter should by the consent of the whole Apostolic Colledge.

Colledge have the Foundation of all the four primitive Primacies at *Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome, and Alexandria*? Undoubtedly they foreseeing their dispersion to all Nations, had the whole state both of the Jewish and Gentile World in their eye, and that not without the dictate of the Spirit of God, and could not but see, that those Cities, which had been not long before all Imperial, and still the chiefest, and of most principal moment to the Jews and Gentiles, as to all their Laws, Judgments, and Politics, would be also the most principally useful Seats for the first planting the Gospel, and for a maternal fecundity to the regeneration of minor Places, and the Country, and People within their Territories, and most advantageous to maintain the Catholic Unity, and so most fitted for the uses and honour of primacy, *Jerusalem* over the Jewish, and the others over the Gentile Churches: On which Consideration, by unanimous consent, they lodged that care to set up primate Thrones there in their Primate *S. Peter*, especially for the Jewish dispersion, tho' not in all probability without the concurrence of others of their assignation, or his assumption. Wherefore, tho' the Principalities of those Cities, as to secular Government, was the cause why they were made primate and chiefest Sees by the Apostles, yet that which gave that Ecclesiastic Dignity was, that they

(c) Clem. Rom. Epist. 1. ad Corinth. — κατὰ χάριτος οὐκ ἐπὶ πλείους κηρύσσοντες, καὶ διδασκοντες τὰς ἀπαιχὰς αὐτῶν, διχοδομοῦντες τῷ πνεύματι, εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους καὶ μαλλότων τι εἶδον.

were founded not only by the Apostles, but the chiefest Apostles, not only as Episcopal, but also primate Sees. For no doubt *S. Peter*, as well as the (c) other Apostles, ordained other Bishops in other Cities, either sole, or in conjunction with other Apostles, Prophets, or Bishops, and transmitted to them the plenitude of Episcopacy, and his own Charter as a Bishop; but made not their Sees so primely organical to the Catholic Communion as these principal ones at *Rome*, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Jerusalem*. And had not these prime Apostles



Apostles planted these greater Sees, in all reason they had not been, as they were even from the beginning, more honourable than others, but rather would have been less honourable than the Churches that S. Peter, S. John, and S. Paul should have elsewhere founded, notwithstanding the greater Amplitude and Principalities of these Cities. For tho it was convenient for the uses of the Church to follow the Imperial Polity, and so to set up the chiefest Sees in the chiefest Cities, yet it was not essentially requisite to our Structure, and had our Methods been otherwise originally modelled, lesser and obscurer Cities might by the Apostles have been made Primatic and Metropolitan to the Cities that were superiour in Seculars, as we see at home in the distinction of *Canterbury* and *London*: the Ecclesiastical glory of Sees descending from the prerogative and dignation of the Founders, I mean Ecclesiastical, as speaking of the Church abstractly without any relation to Christian States. Now then all these Seats of primatic Bishoprics being made so primatic by S. Peter's Foundation, how can this primacy be arrogated only unto *Rome*; and that not only a regular, but a sovereign primacy, meerly on this only ground, that S. Peter was its Founder? For tho it may be said, that S. Peter himself never sat in the Chair at *Alexandria*, which was a Daughter Church of *Rome*, because S. Mark went from *Rome* by the mission of S. Peter with his Gospel to *Alexandria*, yet first I answer, this doth not prove *Alexandria* Daughter to *Rome*, for that S. Peter ordained him Bishop of *Alexandria*, not as Bishop of *Rome* in the right of the Roman See, but as an Apostle at large, nay Primate of the Apostles of the Circumcision: For had he done it as Bishop of *Rome* in the right of that See, then all the Successors of *Alexandria* must have been constituted by the successive Bishops of *Rome*, which was

was never the course, as is evident in all Ecclesiastical History. But however, there can be no pretence for this at *Antioch*, where *S. Peter* was, as an Apostle and Evangelist by the testimony of the Scripture, (which doth not affirm the same of his being at *Rome*) and as a particular Bishop by the testimony of Tradition, and had his Chair there before ever he came to *Rome*: So that of the two Primacies, that of *Antioch* was prior in point of time. And in this respect of time, the primatic Bishopric of the Jewish Churches, *Jerusalem*, (d) the Mother of all Churches, was prior to both *Antioch* and *Rome*; for that even literally out of *Sion* first came forth the Law, and the Word of God from *Jerusalem*, *Esa.* 2. 3. Upon which primogeniture of the Eastern before the Western Churches, those of the East upon occasions undertook to correct the *supercilium* of the Westerns, by telling them, that they are the off-spring of the East. But the truth is, *S. Peter* was not affixed to any Seat when this Charter was promised him, and after given him with the rest of his Colleagues, which indeed contains no relative alliance to any definite Place or See, but an absolute and spiritual *Charisma* only, constituting the very essence of a Bishop, to oversee the State, and dispose and perform all Acts Ecclesiastical: but to execute this power, in this or that place, is but accidental to the nature of the Episcopal power; for when distant from his See, he is a Bishop all the World over, and may perform the Offices Episcopal on Converts in any Pagan place, without any subjection to, or controulment by any other Bishop, beyond his own limited Diocese, and so he Canonically may in any other Bishops Diocese by permission: of which there are very many Instances in Ecclesiastical Records and Histories. So then the Charter, divinely promised and given to *S. Peter*, was not by that Grant of Christ vested

on

(d) Concil. Constantinop. sub Theodos. Magn. ad Syn. Roman. sub Damaso.

on the only Bishop of *Rome*, or any other determinate place, but only on all Bishops in general, that either he, or indeed any other Apostle, by virtue of the same essential power (actually collated in equal proportion on them all) should ordain Bishops, to propagate a continual succession in the Hierarchy. But whatsoever primacy *Rome*, or other Sees after had, that was but a positive, external, and prudential Constitution, (not mystical) and so not fundamental to the being of the Church Catholic, which could have subsisted and continued in Villages as well as Cities, had the wisdom of God and his Apostles so disposed it.

§ 27. We come then at last to consider the Primacy § 27. that is both common to all these Sees, and then that which is peculiar to each of them. Now Primacy may be distributed into three kinds, viz. of Use, Honour, and Power. And first, as to the use of these primitive Sees, their Bishops had this advantage in common above other Metropolitan or Common Sees, that they could reciprocally transmit the Acts and Affairs of the whole Catholic Church from one end of the World to the other, with more ease and certain Expedition, by reason of the Secular opportunities and means of conveyance, and to this use therefore they were principally employed in the primitive Ages: And as to these uses *Rome*, from the advantage of the Empire, was the greatest See, and its Bishop, in these Oecumenical Transmissions, of principal moment and convenience. And as they were of such an universal use in such Transmissions, so were they equally of like principal use in calling of the largest, or most numerous Councils of their Daughter Churches within their primatic Limits, much greater than any less Metropolitans could collect. So that by the unanimous consent of these four Primates, every Metropolitan within these Primacies could be directed

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to

to convene Councils in each Province thro' all the Jewish and Gentile Church at the same time, of as great Authority upon a mutual consent in their several determinations as one General Council met in one place, and much more satisfying to the doubts of any man's mind. And herein the Church of *Rome*, from the advantage of the Imperial City, had a (e) larger field to propagate the Seed Ecclesiastical, and to found more Daughter Churches in the Western World, over whom she might therefore use some primacy in convening more Provincial Councils, than the Territories of the three Eastern Primacies could severally contain. So that in respect of these primatic uses the Primate of *Rome* had a greater extent of Ground, and a greater number of Provinces to act in, than any one of the other. Secondly, We shall consider the primacy of Honour. Now whereas Honour is nothing but the esteem of Men, the kinds of Honour are as various as the causes producing it in the Senses, Opinions, and Admirations of Men. Now as to the Honour common to these primatic Sees, it consists in this, that they were all founded by the Primate of the twelve Apostles, as aforesaid, but each of them have some singular Honour peculiar to each See, in the comparison of which one with the other, a Man that is wiser than I, may discern which of these four hath the most honorary majority. And first as to Time, we shall thus reckon the order of primacy in these principal Sees, *Hierusalem, Antioch, Rome, and Alexandria*. If we consider the primacy of Honour from our being denominated Christians, the Scripture passeth a remarkable eminency herein on *Antioch*, that the Disciples were first called Christians there, *Acts* 11. 26. as if the Church had been as it were first Christened there. On which *S. Chrysostom* in his Sermon to them, advertiseth (f) thus: *Tou, saith he,*

(e) Socr. Eccl.  
Hist. l. 3. c.

— ὁ ἴσως γὰρ  
πάντες φιλοῦσι  
μὴ τὸν Πα-  
τριάρχην Ἐκκλη-  
σίας ἐν τοῖς  
γενόμενασιν ὁ-  
μολογῶν (the  
second Asian  
Council at An-  
tioch to Pope  
Julius) ὡς ἀπο-  
στόλων προί-  
στῆτος, καὶ ἑυ-  
σεβείας καὶ ἐξ-  
ουσίας ἐν ἀρχῇ  
καταμεμνηνῶν,  
καὶ ὅτι τῆς ἑα-  
νεσθῆναι  
αὐτοῖς οἱ τὴν  
δογματικὴν ἐ-  
κκλησίαν, ἡ πα-  
ρὰ τὸν δὲ τὰ  
ἀδελφεὰ φέ-  
ροντες, καὶ μὴ με-  
ρίδοντες καὶ πλε-  
ονεκτοῦντες  
ἑκκλησίας  
πλειονεκτοῦντες,  
ὡς ἀρετῇ καὶ  
περιουσίᾳ νε-  
κρῶν.

(f) Chrys. Hom.  
7. in Matth. 2.

if

if any discourse happen concerning Primacy and Pre-  
 excellency, challenge to your selves a Prelacy above all  
 the World, for that this City first gave the Faithful the  
 name of Christians. If we consider visible Sanctity, in  
 this Alexandria hath the greatest Honour in all the Ec-  
 clesiastic Histories. For so admirable was the Philoso-  
 phy of the Christian life of Alexandria, that Philo wrote  
 a Book of it to recommend it to an universal Admira-  
 tion; and all Historians agree, that as Egypt had been  
 the Sink of Idolatry, so it was, upon the plantation of  
 Christianity there, the very Mirror of Piety. To which  
 purpose I will here only cite the testimony of S. Chry-  
 sostom, (g) who thus compares the Primacies of Pale-  
 stine and Egypt: That by Joseph and Maries descent with  
 Christ into Egypt, this Land had an opportunity, when  
 it should afterward hear the Gospel, to be honoured, and  
 to glory that she first received him, (tho this seemeth a-  
 lone to be the primacy of Palestine) but however Egypt  
 was afterward more fervent. Nay, if even yet any one  
 goes unto the Deserts of Egypt, he will find all that Wil-  
 derness like the Paradise of God. We now come to en-  
 quire into the peculiar Honour of the Roman See. This  
 Tertullian in his most admirable Book of Precriptions  
 placeth (h) in the Martyrdom of S. Peter and S. Paul,  
 and the miraculous confession of S. John the Apostle,  
 on which he was banished into the Isle of Patmos,  
 whereby this Church of Rome (i) was consecrated, as  
 by so many the greatest Sacrifices and Oblations (next  
 to that of Christ, which was offered for the whole Ca-  
 tholic Church) to such a sacred Dignity as no other  
 Church could boast of, that the three primest Apostles  
 that were driven, or sent to the dispersion of the Jews,  
 or Gentiles, (for S. James major was martyred before in  
 Judea by Herod) should make their Confessions for  
 Christ in the Church and City of Rome before the Impe-

(g) Chrys. Hom.

8. in Matth. 2.

(h) Tertul. Præ-

scrip. Felix Ec-

clesia, cui totam

doctrinam cum

sanguine suo

profuderunt:

ubi Petrus pas-

sioni Dominice

adequatur:

ubi Paulus Jo-

annis exitu co-

ronatur: ubi

Joannes Aposto-

lus, postquam

in oleum ignis

demersus ui-

bit passus est, in

insulam relega-

tur.

(i) Maxim. five

Author. Sermon.

de Sancti. Sermon.

inter August. 27.

— Cum Do-

minu Orientis

regionem pro-

pria illustrave-

rit passione: oc-

cidentis pla-

gam, ne quid

minus esset, vice

sui Apostolorum

sanguine illumi-

nare dignatus

est. &amp; licet

illius passio no-

bis sufficiat ad

salutem: tamen

etiam horum

martyrium no-

bis contuli ad

exemplum.



rial Powers of the Heathen, and therein the two very primeſt ſhould, as it were, water and ſanctifie it with their Blood, the third eſcaping by a Miracle like that of *Shadrach, Meſhach, and Abednego* at *Babylon*. Now the death of Saints, as it is dear in the ſight of the Lord, ſo was it ſo venerable in the ſenſe of the primitive Chriſtians, becauſe the Blood of the Martyrs is the Seed of the Church, that they looked on their Aſhes as ſacred, and their Sepulchres holy, on which they offer'd the Eucharistical Sacrifice with all publick and religious Devotions, and zealous Commemorations, and at which all manner of Miracles were ſaid to be frequently done. So that not only the Chair of *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*, but their Blood ſanctified this Church to a greater external and adventitious Glory in this reſpect than any other. And therefore as upon Politic Accounts it was moſt uſeful to the univerſal Communion of the Church Catholic in the ſollicitation or tranſmiſſion of Affairs, becauſe to this Imperial City all Nations and Churches muſt have a more frequent and fuller recourſe upon temporal occaſions, ſo was it dedicated by the Blood of theſe two chief Apoſtles to a more ſacred Honour in this reſpect than any other See or City. And hence the original primacy of Honour in this Church conſiſts only in this, that being more happy and glorious in the Martyrdom of theſe greateſt Apoſtles, and withal more uſeful to the facile Communion of the whole diffuſive Body of the Church Catholic, the Succeſſors of this See repreſenting the Perſons that firſt founded, and preſided in it, were honoured with a particular reverence above other Biſhops, as *S. Peter* and *S. Paul* themſelves (that were more honourable than the reſt Apoſtles) who ſuffered there, and in whoſe Blood the ſucceſſion was originated, and hallowed. Add hereunto, that theſe Apoſtles alſo at *Rome* ( *k* ) had finally here confounded the

(*k*) *Arnob. con. Gent. l. 2. Chryſ. adv. Pſeudo-proph. Eufeb. Eccl. Hiſt. l. 2. c. 14. Maxim. Ser. inter Ambroſ. 66. cum multis alia.*

the greatest Enemy of Christianity, *Simon Magus*, (1) (1) Just. Mart. Apolog. 2. ad Antonin. who had in this City an Image set up with this Inscription, *Simoni Sancto Deo*, and was the Grandfather of Magic and Heresie, whose Confusion therefore by the Doctrine, Prayers, Faith, and Spirit of these Apostles at *Rome*, in the sight of all the Heathen Powers and People, was a new accession of Glory to this See, as the Seat of this grand Triumph of Christianity over all the Powers of darkness and spiritual wickedness in high places. The third sort of Primacy is that of Power and Authority. Of which we cannot find the least footsteps that the Church of *Rome* had originally over the other primatic Sees above named, or they over it. For that which (m) *Epiphanius* observes of *Jerusalem*, (m) Epiphanius: Hæres. 70. that being the Mother of all Churches (in some sense, in that the Gospel came from thence, not that her Bishop constituted all Gentile Churches) all other Churches throughout the World were to assent unto it in the time of the Paschal Feast, while its Bishops were of the Circumcision, till the desolation of the place by *Ælius Adrianus*, on which the Jews were banished from the place, and the Gentiles inhabited it: This was not: (if it be true) in submission to the sovereignty of the Jewish Church over the Gentiles, whom *S. Paul* asserted free from Jewish Dominion, but only, as *Epiphanius* saith, for Concords sake, and in condescension to their Infirmities, and prejudices of their Education in the Law and Carnal Traditions of their Fathers, in accommodation to which *S. Paul* submitted to purifie himself in the Temple. Nor can I find any primitive superiority of Power in any Primate or Metropolitan above any other Bishop, but only directive in the assembling of Provincial Councils, and in this no difference in these Primates and other Metropolitans, but that these Primates had a larger extent to take this directive care of;

but:

(n) Canon. A-  
post. 33.

but for one particular Primate or Metropolitan to censure any Bishop by himself; or to be incapable of censure in his own Provincial Synods, hath no precedent in the primeft and pureft Antiquity. The (n) Canon Apostolical directing, That every Bishop of every Nation give deference to him that is chief among them, and to esteem him as their Head, and to do nothing extraordinary without his cognisance, but every one only to do those things which are expedient to his own Diocese, and to the Country under him. And so neither must the capital Bishop do any thing without the consent of them all, for thus there will be an unanimity, and God will be glorified thro' the Lord in the Holy Spirit. Of which Canon I shall have more occasion to discourse anon. In the mean time I shall not dissemble, nor conceal what I find of deference given to the Roman See on the account of its Uses and Honours. For as all especial Honour and Utility joyned together, naturally draws after it an extraordinary Homage of Veneration from others, so these glorious Originals and eminent Services of the Catholic Union, attracted to the Roman Bishops a more especial deference and veneration in respect of their Founders, who were as it were still representatively honoured in their Successors; and that deference did in time, by insensible augmentations, improve so far, as to concede some singular Authority in token of Honour; for without such Concessions, the Honour intended to that See would not have been so obviously discernible to the Bishop to whom it was yielded; and the way of men is freely enough to use that Power, which the candour or humility of others shall concede, or put into their hands. So then since Rome was the last, and perhaps the longest Seat of S. Peter and S. Paul's Episcopacy, consecrated by their Doctrine, Miracles, and Blood, and a very fruitful Parent of almost all the Western Churches,

Churches, which therefore by the duties of Nativity were to pay Homage to their venerable Mother, beside the advantage of its being the Seat of worldly Empire, it became so very venerable by continual Gradations, that in no very long time it became the primest and strongest sinew of the Catholic Body, the assistance of which was desired by all Churches in order to any Constitutions of Catholic importance: Insomuch that at length it became (p) a Canonical Rule not to omit the Bishop of Rome in making Canons for the Catholic Church, or in Matters of Catholic Concernment: for that in him, by long custom, had been lodged a principal care for all Churches, being of old the grand Agent in ordinary for the Western Churches, in themselves, and to the Eastern, and from the Eastern to the Western Churches, *vid. Cyp. Ep. 67. & Hist. Eccl. passim*. On which account (p) S. Basil, as well as many others, thought it necessary to acquaint the Bishop of Rome with the state of the Greek Church, that he might consider and give them counsel, and if it might be too difficult for him to procure them the assistance of a Synodical Decree, that however he might send his own personal succour by men that could endure the Journey. Where we may see that his eminent Interest, above others in Canonical Sanctions, for the universal System of the Church, was founded, not in a Divine Charter, but Canonical Grant; and that his help indeed, either synodical, or single, was necessary to relieve the Eastern Churches in that valetudinary misery, by the way of counsel, or opinion, not of sovereignty. For upon the Eastern divisions, and by consequence debilitations, the Roman See, being not affected with any such distempers, became more necessary than before to the Greek Church, as a compassionate Nurse to a languishing Patient, and therefore began to affect a sovereignty

(a) *Socr. Eccl.*

*Hist. l. 2. c. 7.*

Κατόρθω 'Εκ-

κλησιαστικῆ κα-

λδιότητος μὴ

δεῖν παρὰ τῷ

γνώμῳ τῷ

Ἐπισκόπῳ

Ῥώμης τῷ

Ἐκκλησιαστικῷ

ἡγεμονίῳ.

(p) *Basil. ad*

*Athanas. Ep. 61*

(q) *Damas. Ep.*  
ad Conc. *Con-*  
*stantinop.* sub  
*Theodof. Magn.*  
apud *Theodoret.*  
l. 5. c. 10.

reignty on that occasion, as it had before to no effect on others: On which Ambition (q) Pope *Damasus*, tho otherwise a very excellent Person, writes an Epistle to the Bishops assembled in Council at *Constantinople*, in a style never assumed (that ever I have observed) by any Bishop of *Rome* before, calling them his most honourable Sons, for their due love and submission to the Apostolic Chair at *Rome*, in begging him to depose *Timothy* the *Apolinarian* Bishop of *Alexandria*, which he had already done at the request, and in the presence of *Peter* the true and Catholic Bishop of *Alexandria* (fled unto *Rome* for sanctuary and restitution) by the Judgment of his Apostolic Chair. But you must know, that this Judgment, upon Appeal made unto him, is grounded on the Canon of not Canonizing without the See of *Rome*, and given, not so much as a sole potestative sentence, as an assistant and relieving suffrage to that sound part of the Catholic Church, that needed such an eminent Patronage and Succour. But not only the *Arian* Bishops and Councils rejected all the least appearances of early affectation to Supremacy in the Roman Chair with scorn and indignation, but even the Catholic Bishops of the East, whose afflicted condition made them supplicants to the Western Church, and so to make use of the Roman arbitration as a weighty and important expedient for the present Exigencies, did not however then relish the then Romish aspirations to the Headship of the Church universal; and therefore *S. Basil* chastiseth the Transmarine Bishops very modestly in this manner: (r) *Whether you repute your selves Head of the Universal Church, the Head cannot say to the Feet, I have no need of you: or if you place your selves in equal order with your fellow Ecclesiastical Members, you cannot say to us, You are of no use to us. Where you see, he thoucheth that fastidious contempt,*  
by

(r) *Basil. Cesar.*  
*Epist. ad Trans-*  
*mar. Episcopos.*



by which the Western Church thought it self supreme Head of the Eastern, and will not allow all the Transmarine Bishops together, and much less the one single Bishop of Rome, to be Head of the universal Church.

§ 28. It is very true, that in very ancient days the *Insignia* of this See were so very illustrious, that either the Bishops of Rome commonly admitted the Complement, if not prescribed the style, of *Pontifex Maximus*, and *Episcopus Episcoporum*, Greatest High Priest, and Bishop of Bishops, which tho' it may be interpreted only to a supremacy of Honour, not of Power and Sovereignty, yet the Western Churches would not all endure it, over whom alone it seems to be assumed. For not only (f) *Tertullian*, when *Montanist*, upbraids the Bishop of Rome with the *Fastus* of those exorbitant Titles, but also S. *Cyprian* in Council at Carthage, stoutly decryeth this style so pleasing to the Pimate of Rome. (r) No one, saith he, of us maketh himself a Bishop of Bishops, nor forceth his Colleagues by a tyrannical terror to a necessity of obedience: for that every Bishop hath an absolute freedom of power, and can no more be judged of another, than he himself can judge another, Christ alone having the power of judging the Acts of the Bishops. And accordingly he and his Colleagues (u) would not allow the Appeal of the five Presbyters (that had set up *Fortunatus* for their Bishop) unto Pope *Cornelius*, as afterward also the same African Church under *Aurelius* Archbishop of Carthage, refused Appeals to Rome in the famous Case of *Apiarius*. If then the African Church, which I deny not to derived from the Roman, refuse this Papal sovereignty, how much more reason had the Greek, and other Churches, not descended thence, to oppose it, as indeed they did. Thus when the Asian Churches, from an ancient Tradition, kept the Christian Paschal on the Fourteenth day of the

§ 28.

(f) *Tertull. de Pudicitia.*(r) *Cyp. in Conc. Carthag. de Bapt. Hzret.*(u) *Cyp. Ep. 55. § 16.*

N

Moon,

(x) Euseb. Eccl.  
Hist. l. 5. c. 23.  
26.

Moon, according to the Jewish manner, and several Provincial Synods, at the motion, or direction of *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*, were convened in several parts of the Church Catholic at once, all determining for themselves to keep the Tradition on the day of our Lord's Resurrection, excepting only the *Asian* Synod under *Polycrates* Metropolitan of *Ephesus*, which retained the *quartadeciman* Tradition from *S. John* the Apostle, *Philip* the Deacon, and his Daughters Prophetesses, *Polycarp*, *Thraseas*, and *Sagaris*, Bishops and Martyrs, *Papirion*, and *Melito*, &c. *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*, the greatest Pimate in the Catholic Church, (x) endeavors at one blow to cut off all the *Asian* Dioceses from the Communion of the bordering Churches, and proscribes them by his Letters, and declares all these Brethren at once excommunicate; but this without the consent of some Bishops, who very shrewdly chastised him for it. And *Irenaeus* among others in the name of the *Gallic* Church, of which he was Metropolitan, doth very gravely reprove the irregularity of that Censure in an Epistle to *Victor* himself, as also in Epistles to several other Churches, by which this Censure of *Victor* was universally vacated. So that here I list to enquire into the confidence of that hasty Attraction of *Victor*: For if it were only the confidence that all those Synods, that had concurred in his Custom, would concur also in the Censure, and second him in this penal, as well as that dogmatical part of the Cause, then he challenged not, nor supposed any singular sovereignty of his own: and so finding himself deserted herein by the vigour and reason of his Opponents, sat down quiet under the defeat. But if he did it on the presumption of his own sole Authority herein, he found the Church to fail him, that would not quit their Brethrens Communion for one man's haughtiness, heat, or indiscretion, how great so ever

ever his See was. Exact alike to this exorbitancy of Victor was that passionate effort of Pope Stephen's metal against the African, Cappadocian, Cilician, Galatian, and other bordering Churches, in the business of Re-baptization, thro' which Firmilian (y) affirms Pope Stephen to have incurred the guilt of Schism, having cut off himself from so many Christian Churches. *Thou hast cut off thy self: Do not deceive thy self, if he truly is a Schismatic who hath made himself an Apostate from the Communion of Ecclesiastic Unity. For while thou thinkest that thou canst excommunicate all from thee, thou hast excommunicated thy self from all.* And the truth is, tho' Pope Stephen's Tradition was like Victor's, more universal than the contrary, and therefore the opposing Churches came over to it, yet there was no just ground from the meer difference of a ritual and consuetudinary Tradition to rescind the Catholic Communion between them; so that tho' Stephen's Cause was the greater Favourite of the Church, yet his rigour was Schismatical, or else it had not been condemned by that Miracle of Men and Bishops, (z) Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria, in his Episcopal Letters to Pope Xystus I. and Philemon, nor made void by the whole Church by the neglect and disapprobation of it, and the pretended Authority on which it was attempted. And the truth is, if any Bishop of Rome shall, on confidence of his primacy, act any thing uncanonical, and destructive of the Catholic Peace and Communion, either his Ruptures must be healed by the rest Provinces of the Church, or not; if not, then is the primacy a Bulwark of Schism and Confusion; if they must be healed by others, then what becomes of that *Monarchia absolutissima*, that uncontrollable sovereignty of every Pope after once he is gotten into S. Peter's Chair? Or what if a tincture of Heresie should stain the Pontifical Robe, what shall we say

(y) Firmil. ad  
Cypr. inter E.  
pist. Cypr. 75.  
28.

(z) Apud Euseb.  
Eccl. Hist. l. 7. c.  
57.

(a) *Tertull. adv.  
Praxeam.*

then for the Monarchy of such a Prelate? I will not enquire into later Histories for instances hereof, because that hath been done over and over, even to satiety, by the Protestant Advocates, and because I intend to keep my self within the bounds of the primeſt and moſt venerable Antiquity, and there we ſhall certainly find the Pope to be ſuſceptible, and thro' Error a Patron, and Friend of Herſie. For thus (a) *Tertullian* tells us, That the Biſhop of Rome had owned the Prophecies of Montanus, Priſca, and Maximilla, and thereon had made thoſe, that Montanized in Aſia and Phrygia, partakers of the Peace Eccleſiaſtical, till *Praxeas* retracted him, and cauſed him to revoke his Communicatory Letters which he had before ſent to them. Thus *Paraxcas*, ſaith he, brought two evils on Rome, he expelled Propheſie, and introduced Herſie, viz. the *Patripaſſian*. So that in *Tertullian's* Opinion, the Pope was ſuſceptible of Herſie, which he affirms joyn'tly admitted with the repudiating of *Montaniſm*, and it was certainly true in the firſt reception of it. I acknowledge, and will defend that Pope, that he did not Communicate with them out of any guile of heart againſt the Faith, but out of an erroneous Opinion, that thoſe falſe Prophecies were Divine Revelations, of which as ſoon as he was relieved by *Praxeas*, he revoked his Communion with the *Montaniſts*; but this proves him a Man, and fallible enough to be trepan'd into Herſie, and acts heretical, even in *Cathedra*, for ſuch were thoſe Communicatory Letters ſent by that Pope to thoſe *Aſian* and *Phrygian Montaniſts*; and as he was capable of ſuch heretical Irregularities, ſo if he could

(b) *Tertull. adv.  
Praxeam. Et  
nos quidem ag-  
nitio Paracleti  
atque deſenſio  
ſejunxit à Pſſ-  
chicu.*

not have been reclaimed, he had been in *Tertullian's* caſe. (b) cut off by *Montaniſm* from the unity of God's Church. And this laſe ſeems to have proceeded from too much confidence in the eminency of his Station; for being flattered with the Addreſſes of the *Montaniſts* to him.

him (as the *Pontifex Maximus*, and *Bishop of Bishops* perhaps) to insinuate into his favour, and seeing only their Glosses, without a diligent examination of the Catholic Bishops where these Prophecies uttered themselves, he was easily drawn into the Snare. Whereas he should have suspended his Determination, till he had enquired of those *Asian* and *Phrygian* Churches the certain Histories of this Prophet and his Prophetesses, and then, when he had received such account as is given of them by the Anonymous Author in *Eusebius Eccl. Hist. l. 5. c. 16.* and by *Apollonius ibid. c. 18.* and by *Ælius Publius Julius, ibid. c. 19.* and as after he did by *Praxeas*, he had saved himself from that stain, which he contracted by confiding too much on the Authority of his See and Pontifical Judgment. But the wisdom of God knows how to bring good out of evil, and suffered *Victor*, and this Pope, and afterward *Stephen, Marcellinus, and Liberius, &c.* to fall into Irregularities of Schism, Idolatry, and Heresie, that in after Ages we might have Arguments of their fallibility, and against their sovereignty, when their confidence should swell beyond the natural condition of Man, and the regular constitution of the Hierarchy. Neither is the Church free from the Papal Monarchy in the case of its Schismatical or Heretical Irregularities only, but, according to the 33 Canon Apostolical, every Bishop may dispose of the particular affairs of his own Diocese, at the liberty of his own discretion, and that even in *Italy* it self, and that in preference to the customs and usages at *Rome*. Thus at *Milan* (c) *S. Ambrose* used a custom of washing the feet of them that were newly baptized, just upon their Baptism, contrary to the custom observed at *Rome*. Thus the Author in his name in the place last cited: *We are not ignorant, that the Church of Rome hath not this custom, whose example and form we follow in all things.*—In all things I desire

(c) *Ambros. de Sacram. l. 3. c. 1.*



to follow the Church of Rome, but yet we men have sense, and therefore that which is elsewhere more rightly observed, we also do maintain. We follow the Apostle Peter himself, we keep close to his Devotion. To this what doth the Church of Rome answer? For the Apostle Peter himself is the Author of this Assertion, who was Bishop of the Church of Rome. And so insufficient sometimes have the Bishops of Rome been, even in the opinion of her own Doctors, that S. Hierom in an Epistle to Theophilus Bishop of Alexandria, tells him, (d) That Vincentius his fellow Presbyter in the Monastery at Bethlehem salutes Theophilus, celebrating him continually, as under Christ, the deliverer of Rome and all Italy from the Origenian Impostures by his Epistles. I easily allow S. Hierom and his Vincentius to be too warm in this Cause; but however it is a sign what sense they had of the Pope's defects, which sometimes were relieved by supplies from others, as being not yet emancipated from the slippery infirmities of Human frailty, but liable to the lapses and aberrations of Flesh and Blood, as well as others of a lesser magnitude.

(d) Hieron. ad  
Theoph. par. 1.  
Tract. 3. Ep. 27.

§ 29.

§ 29. But how great or authoritative soever the primacy of this Roman Bishop can be fancied to be, yet it cannot be made evident, that it extended any operation beyond the Roman Empire to the Churches of India (e) founded by S. Bartholomew, nor of Parthia founded by S. Thomas, nor of Æthiopia planted by S. Matthew, nor to those of Persia under the Metropolitan and Primate of Ctesiphon and the Persian Seleucia, nor to the Church of the Scythians under the Bishop of Tomis. For tho' (f) a Persian and the Scythian Bishop were present at the Council of Nicæa, yet that was not called by the Papal, but Imperial Power, which extended not to Persia, or Scythia, and so their Bishops came at Constantine's invitation, not authority. So that this primacy,

(e) Socr. Eccl.  
Hist. l. 1. c. 19.  
& Euseb. Eccl.  
Hist. l. 3. c. 1.

(f) Euseb. vit.  
Constant. l. 3. c. 7.

when

when extended and advanced to the utmost latitude and power, yet carried no operations beyond the *Roman* Empire, to which the Churches within it were subject in all their Temporalities, and therefore could stretch no Ecclesiastical Dominion of any See beyond the bounds Imperial, tho' an unity be to be maintained in all Ecclesiastical Principles and Fundamentals, with and by all Bishops and Churches in the World, tho' their respective Princes and States use all the violent means in the World to divide it: From whence it follows, upon the partition of the Empire into so very many Kingdoms, Principalities, and States, to which our Bodies and bodily Services are legally and politically subject, that the Bishop of *Rome* cannot exercise any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, which will interfere with, and evacuate any Temporal Rights of the Secular Powers, to which all Christians are subject in each State, without the permission of the Supreme Powers, as to command any Subject of any Prince, without his leave, out of his Dominions to convene in Councils, or any other Ecclesiastical Ministeries, on pain of any ecclesiastic and valid Censure, because his Prince may need or restrain his bodily Service at home: Which is the just ground and sense of our 21 Article, That General Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of Princes, *i.e.* by the authority of any other Person. All Bishops then, and Ecclesiastical Persons, being thus subject to their respective Temporal Powers, as aforesaid, and since other Nations may (as in times of War) be excluded and barred all Commerce, it follows, that if any Corruptions arise in any particular Church in these Circumstances, the Bishops, or other Members thereof, are not obliged to recur to the Bishop of *Rome* for Orders and Sanctions Ecclesiastical, nor can the Bishop of *Rome* execute any authoritative Messages or Decrees  
within

within such Churches, without the permission of the Secular Powers; which Corruptions if the Secular Powers themselves introduce, or be otherwise offended at, or suspicious of the Power of *Rome*, they will not permit any Transactions between their Subjects and the *Roman* Bishop. Now then, since in every particular Church Corruptions must be reformed, where the *Roman* Authority is but precarious, or not to be had, the Bishops of such Churches are to do their own work within their Princes Dominions, to whom they owe an account of their proceedings, not only for the Gospels sake, but even in security to the State. And for this reason no General Councils were collected into one place, or any minor Councils without their own Nation, before *Constantine* the Great, and the other following Emperors required them; because as the unity of Language is bounded in every Nation, which makes their Consultations more easie and satisfying, so by keeping each Church within its own Nation, there was no suspicion given to the Temporal Governours of any seditious Consults with Foreigners under pretence of Christianity. And therefore the 33 Apostolical Canon, tho' all the *Roman* Empire was under one common Emperor, yet did not order any one Bishop to convene any General Council to one place from out of their own Countries, into many of which the whole Empire was divided, but only instituted National Synods, and in each a Metropolitan as a Prolocutor, or principal Member of such domestic and particular Councils. And therefore the Empire being so very much broken, and under no common Arbiter, every Church, did they know, or love their own just Liberty, owes no subjection to any Powers Ecclesiastic without their own Nation, and so may reform by their own domestic, without any foreign Authority. But in the Cases above mentioned,  
what

what if the *Roman* Bishop by an undue Authority hath instituted any corrupt Mixtures in the Churches of any other Nation, what remains, but that all other Bishops stand upon their original Liberty against all Dogmatical Innovations and Constitutions of an impious tendency, as being not originally subject to his Monarchy, and all the Dominion heretofore gotten, and gradually insinuated into thro' a long course of Accidents within the Empire, being now by the great indispensable Law of Necessity, that supercedes all Human positive Provisions, vacated upon the Cantoning the Empire into so many several co-ordinate Seigniories and Dominions? So that our Church hath no way violated any Divine, Primitive, or Canonical Obligation in receding from the *Roman* Yoke, if it hath abolished no Fundamental Verities, or Duties of Christianity, which it lyes upon the Church of *Rome* to prove from the Scriptures, and the primest Antiquity, the apparent sense of the whole primitive Church on its own Foundations. And the best and only way of an effectual discussion hereof is, by a bare producing primitive Testimonies in a Brotherly Christian Conference of Representatives on each side, having a sufficient time assigned them for preparation, Session, and recourse to those that delegated them for such further Direction and Authority as the Debate shall require. To which no man can expect, without a Miracle from Heaven, or some inevitable Temporal necessity, that the Bishop of *Rome* will ever concur for fear of the dear *Palladium*, which yet however is but just, by all the obvious Rules of Equity, and which all Christian States and Churches ought to their utmost to promote.

## C H A P. III.

*Of the Subjection and Authority of the Church in a Christian State.*

§ 1. **H**AVING thus stated the Original Rights and Liberties of the Church Catholic against the Usurpations of the Roman Pontificate, we come now to the third and last Essay, *The Subjection and Authority Ecclesiastic in a Christian State, according to the sense of the Primitive Fathers on their Charter Hierarchical.* This Enquiry differs from the former, because there the Question was, *Whether the Pope hath Supremacy over all Churches of the World as Churches?* Here it is, *Whether he, in the right of the Church Catholic, hath an authoritative Supremacy over all the Christian Kings and Princes thereof.* Thus then we will set down the avowed Doctrine of that, and of our Church herein. They then affirm, That the Church in Ecclesiasticals is no wise subject unto any the Temporal Authority of Kings or Secular Powers; but all Kings in Ecclesiasticals as subject unto the Pope, as Head of the Church, as any private person, and as liable to all Ecclesiastical Censures without exception or abatement: I will not add also to the Absolution of Subjects from their Allegiance, and Deposition, and Murther, because this is in a Learned Hand already, and because it is a Doctrine not unsheathed at all times, in all States, but only upon a seasonable occasion for terrour now and then. But the Church of *England* owns the Royal Sovereignty of our Princes over all Ecclesiastical Persons, and Causes, with this Interpretation, *Artic. 37. That they should rule*

all



all Estates and Degrees committed to their Charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the Civil Sword the stubborn, and evil doers. In the debating of which Controversie, I think it necessary to premise to all sorts of Men, that I shall not take upon me to defend all the Sense and Acts of the State upon the Royal Supremacy; for as I am in no wise learned in the Laws of our Land, so if any Injuries be done to the Church by the State in any of its Constitutions, the Romanists cannot in reason expect that our Church should justify the wrongs which she sustains. Which observation may perhaps serve to stop those loud clamours with which they load the Church, as about the Statutes of Dissolution, *Conge d'Esire*, of Process Ecclesiastical in the King's Name by *Edward* the Sixth, the restraint of our Convocations, Excommunications enacted by Statutes, &c. all which, if they were as faulty as they apprehend and represent them, under the general *Opprobrium* of calling our Religion a *Parliament Religion*, yet they cannot be charged on the Church of *England* as a guilt, tho' perhaps in some respects it may be some disgrace and infelicity, that we are allowed no more liberty in the Trusts which God hath committed to our charge, without falling under greater Inconveniencies than we suffer by our patience under these Restrictions. Which being cautioned, I shall add this general Position, That no Ordinances of Secular State can deprive our Church of its essential Rights given us from God, but only lay Temporal punishments on us for the use of them without their permission. Which if it be absolutely necessary for us at any time to do in opposition to the State, our Ecclesiastical Acts are not null, but valid to all effects purely Ecclesiastical, and we can but suffer, and despise the Penalty. So then we shall examin the Doctrine of both Churches,

concerning the Supremacy, upon the Senses and Examples of the purest Antiquity. Wherein with all Duty and the sincerest Loyalty of my Soul, I humbly beseech my Superiours of all Orders in my own Nation, and heartily wish that in all Christian States, all Kings, Princes, Senators, Nobles, and all Persons in Authority, that are prone enough to warp and determine upon the Churches Affairs, would patiently study, and deeply learn the Nature and Divine Rights of this Sacred Body, ere they meddle in the managements of it, that so they may not thro' inadvertency dash their foot against the stone.

§ 2.

§ 2. For the humblest of all Prelates, the grand Enemy of all Ecclesiastical Ambition, doth, in a most religious Sermon before the Imperial Majesty, and the Temporal Grandees, thus determine the Duty and Authority of the Church in respect of the Secular Powers.

(g) *Gregor. Naz.  
αὐτὸς τὸς Πό-  
λιναν. &c.*

(g) *Let us be subject to God, and to each other, and to our Governours on Earth: unto God upon all accounts, to each other by brotherly love, to our Princes for good orders sake, and that so much the more as they are more kind and good:—For this is one of our Laws, and that of the most laudable ones, and most excellently ordered by the Spirit, who considered the possibility as well as the goodness of it, and made it Law, That Servants should obey their Masters, Wives their Husbands, and the Church her Lord, and Disciples their Pastors and Doctors; and thus be subject to all superiour Powers, not only for Wrath, but also for Conscience sake. And then he particularly speaketh to the Emperour and his Potentates; Receive ye the Word which I will speak with all freedom: The Law of God subjecteth you to my Authority and Chair: For we also govern, and I will add also, in a greater and more perfect Government, except the Spirit ought to give place to the Flesh, and heavenly things to earthly. Take thou*

thou my freedom in good part; I know thee, O Emperour, to be a sacred Sheep of my sacred Flock. Where it is to be observed, That the Father spake it, not by way of Contention, as *Symmachus* Bishop of *Rome* in Apology to the quarrel of *Anastasius* the Emperour, but with all Fatherly Bowels, in absolute Concord and Peace, and without the least grain or ferment of Ambition; for he left the Bishopric of *Constantinople* of his own accord, with more joy and readines than he assumed it, notwithstanding he thought it a more excellent Dignity than an Empire; so that here is no suspicious prejudice against the integrity of his thoughts, when he spake these sacred Aphorisms, to which accordeth (b) all the whole sacred Chorus, who, tho they require (i) obedience to all, even evil Princes, yet prefer the excellency of the Priesthood before the power of the Secular Sword. And no wonder if the Jews had the same Notion even of their Typical Pontificate, and was received (k) by King *Agrippa* himself, (who, for the profession of it unto the Tyrant *Caius*, offered himself a Sacrifice to his fury, tho he escaped it) that the Fathers should have such a sense of the Christian High Priesthood, as being the very Pontificate of Christ descending in the greatest measures man is capable of to the Apostles, and from them to the holy Bishops. This looks and sounds strange to vulgar Senses here in *England*, and will be construed to a monstrous and frightful Charge of raising *Imperium in Imperio*, (which in divers kinds, not retarding or interfering, but rather helping one the other; is no Monster or Bugbear) to discharge which, I shall consider first, What, according to the Primitive Senses, is the due subjection of the Church to the Secular Powers: Secondly, The subjection of Secular Magistrates of all Orders to the Church: And thirdly, the mutual Liberties of each State Ecclesiastical and Civil, which ought

(b) *Apost. Const.*  
l. 2. c. 11, 18. &c.  
l. 6. c. 2. *Chrysos-*  
2 *Cor.* c. 7. *Hom.*  
15.  
(i) *Chrysos.* Ep.  
ad *Rom.* *Hom.*  
23.  
(k) *Rex Agrip.*  
Ep. ad *Caium.*  
ap. *Philon.* Leg.  
ad *Caium.*  
*Πατριάρχης* ὁ  
ἡγεμὼν τῆς  
ἐκκλησίας  
τοῦ Χριστοῦ  
ἐστὶν ὁ ἀρχιε-  
ρεὺς τῆς βασι-  
λείας τοῦ Θεοῦ  
καὶ τοῦ βασι-  
λεῖς τῆς ἐκ-  
κλησίας. καὶ  
ἐκ τούτου καὶ  
ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ  
ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς  
ἐστὶν ὁ βασι-  
λεὺς τῆς ἐκ-  
κλησίας καὶ  
ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς  
ἐστὶν ὁ βασι-  
λεὺς τῆς ἐκ-  
κλησίας καὶ  
ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς  
ἐστὶν ὁ βασι-  
λεὺς τῆς ἐκ-  
κλησίας. *Vide*  
*Philonem de Sa-*  
*cerd. Praemiss.*

not.

not be violated by any Usurpations on either side.

§ 3.

First then all that subjection we owe the Temporal Powers, tho' un-Christian, is due to the Christian, on as much a greater and more religious Obligation, as we are to honour a tender Father more than a careless or a cruel one. So that no Prince ought to lose any thing by his being Christian, which Christianity hath secured to him tho' un-Christian. On which account the Doctors of the Deposition, or Murthering of Kings excommunicate for Heresie, ought to be prosecuted by the Pope, and all other Bishops, with the highest *Anathema's* and Censures of the Church, and to be cut off from the Body of Christ with a Severity hardly atoneable. And the Pope hath the more reason to acquit himself carefully by solemn condemnation of the Doctrine, and a rigorous edge against its Authors, because he lyeth under a jealousy of being a Patron of them. Let us see then what security and service Christianity performs to all Civil Powers. *S. Peter* bids us be subject unto every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the King as supreme, or unto Governors as unto them that are sent by him, to the punishment of evil doers, and the praise of them that do well, *1. Pet. 2. 13, 14.* *S. Paul* requires every Soul to be subject to the higher Powers as God's Ordinance, not only for Wrath, but also for Conscience sake, on pain of damnation, *Rom. 13.* And gives to all Bishops this Rule, that they institute Supplications, Prayers, Intercessions, and giving of Thanks for Kings, and all that are in Authority, for that this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour: All which, how religiously it was observed and practised, may be seen in the wonderful Martyrdom of the whole *Thebaan* Legion, yielding without any resistance to be universally butchered by *Maximianus Caesar* for the Name of Christ, and the

the Averments of our Apologists, &c. Of which I shall interject a few Testimonies. (l) *Theophilus Antioche- (l) Theoph. ad Autoly. l. 1.* nus pleads that the Christians would not indeed worship the Emperor, for that he was not made to be worshipped, but to be honoured with a lawful honour. *Athenagoras* in his (m) Apology, tells the Emperors *Marcus (m) Athenag. Leg. pro Christian.* *Antoninus* and *Commodus*, That the Christians prayed for their Empire, that the Son after the Father might succeed in the Empire according to right, and that their Empire might continually increase, all being subject to them, that by them the Christians might lead a calm and quiet life, and cheerfully serve the Emperors in all things commanded. In like manner *Tertullian* (n) pleadeth to the Gentile World, That for the safety of the Emperors the Christians called upon the true, eternal, and living God, even that God, whom the Emperors themselves desire above the rest to be propitious to them, from whom the Emperors are second, and next to whom they are first, being themselves Men before and above all Gods. — With hands lifted up to Heaven, because innocent; with naked head, as conscious of no shame; and without any Monitor; because with all the heart, saith he, we Christians pray for all Emperors always, a long life, a secure Empire, a safe House, valiant Armies, a faithful Senate, good Subjects, a quiet World, or whatsoever is desirable by Mankind or Cæsar, as knowing the Temporal Powers to be of Divine Constitution. We were originally Strangers, and we have filled all your Cities, Islands, Castles, Franchises, Councils, your very Camps, Tribes, Decuries, Palace, Senate, and Courts of Judicature. We have left you only your Idol Temples. For what War had we not been fit, and ready, who are so willingly slaughtered, if in our Discipline it were not more lawful to be killed, than to kill? To which I will add the Testimony of the best and wisest of Heathen Emperors *M. Aurelius Antoninus*,



in his Epistle to the Senate concerning the Service and miraculous prayers of his Christian Souldiers for him and his Army, when in most fatal and inextricable dangers in Germany. (o) Comparing, saith he, my self and my company with the strength of the Barbarians my Enemies, I recurred in my Prayers to my Country Gods, but being neglected by them, and seeing the streights of my Forces, I called to me those that are by us named Christians, and upon enquiry, I found the multitude and strength of them, and were in a great rage against them, which I ought not to have been, for that those, whom we think Atheists, have God voluntarily immured within their Conscience; for after we had suffered five days thirst and hunger for want of Water, they casting themselves on the ground, prayed not only for me, but also interceded for the whole Army. Which Prostration and Prayers, as soon as they began to the God which I knew not, a very cooling Water came down from Heaven upon us, and fiery Hail upon the Roman Enemies. And if there were, or be no clear way of reconciling the Terrour menaced by S. Gregory Nazianzenes Father Bishop of Nazianzum against Julian's (p) Captain of Archers, sent to rob and overthrow the Church of Nazianzum, with the Rules of Christian Patience, yet perhaps there may be to reconcile it with Loyalty; for Julian was a Rebel against his Emperor Constantius, and so Constantius preparing to war against him, did thereby sufficiently declare Julian by him devested of his being *de jure* Cæsar, which he before had made him, and by consequence of all Inheritance, which was not by meer natural descent in that Empire, but either the donation of the Possessor, or in want of such donation, and a vacancy, the Election of the Army. So that Constantius dying during that Rebellion, Julian's rebel Army overbare the lawful Army, because there was no Competitor against Julian: so the lawful Army

(o) Marc. Imp.  
Epist. ad Senat.  
ap. Just. Mart.  
vid. Xiphilin. ex  
Dim. in Mauca.

(p) Greg. Naz.  
de Patre Epi-  
scoph.

Army did indeed give way, and permitted him to go undisturbed in the Usurpation, but did not elect him; so having forfeited all Right of Succession to *Constantius* by Rebellion, and not being elected by the lawful Army of *Constantius*, he was no other than as *Oliver Cromwel* had been in *England*, if all the Royal Family and Relations had been extinct. So that if it were not done like a Martyr calmly to permit the Wolf to raven as he hoped, yet it was no opposition to any lawful Prince or his Commissioner, but an Usurper and his Elf, and for any thing I know, prudential, and venial, if no more than so, if not also laudable. And on this ground the Solemn Liturgies <sup>(q)</sup> used openly against him, and the Commendations bestowed on him that killed him, tho one of his own Army, may be justified, not upon the account meerly of persecuting Christianity, had he been a lawful Prince, but for that he was an Usurper only of the Empire, no lawful Emperor according to the Rules of Imperial Election, &c. a meer *Oliver Cromwel*, and Tyrannical Intruder. For I suppose, if any Bishop or Priest in *England* had openly prayed against *Cromwel* and his Crew, if the whole Royal Family had been extinct, and no Heir to this Crown, I suppose it had not been culpable, but laudable in it self, tho it might have looked dangerous in the sense of men. Against which defence for old *Gregory*, and the Christian Zeal against *Julian*, I see no objection, but only that many good Christians served him, as *Jovian*, *Valentinian*, and others: But to this it is easie to reply, That this might not be in loyalty to him, but to the Empire it self, whose subsistence depended in the continuance of the Army, inso-much that if they had divided one against another to a Civil War, or all those that hated his Rebellion, viz. *Constantius* his Army, had laid down their Arms, the *Persians* or *Scythians* would presently have divided

(q) *Greg. Naz.*  
*Stelireut. 2.*  
*Theodor. Excl.*  
*Hist. l. 3. c. 17.*

the *Roman* Empire for their own spoil. Indeed had there been any just Emperor alive divested by *Julian*, Loyalty would have engaged them to have deserted *Julian* on the pain and guilt of Rebellion, but there being none such, it was Loyalty to the Empire, as their own Safety, to continue under an Usurper in quiet, till God should ease them and the Empire of the Burthen: But now the Terror of the Archer, the Prayers of the Church, the Flouts of the *Antiochians*, *Valentinian's* stroke of the Sacrist, were no acts of disloyalty to the *Roman* Empire, as not being endangered by it, nor yet to *Julian*, who had no Imperial right, nor by consequence any to any man's Loyalty: And the same may be said for him that killed him, tho his Soldier, for he had no right to that Command; and withal, it was expedient to the state of the Empire, that the tyrannical Rebel should no longer ruin the *Roman* Armies, and the strength of the Empire; all which will appear feasible, if we put the Case in such a person as *Oliver Cromwel*. This was ever my sense of this matter, before it became a matter of disquisition in our Kingdom, and I am still in this opinion, after all that I have seen on both sides disputed on it. And in my opinion, 'tis no example of any the least disloyalty to any lawful Prince directed by the Church, because of the Persecution of Christianity, that either Jesuits or Whigs should make any advantage of it, to palliate *Ravilliacquing*, or oppressing Sovereign Princes.

§ 4. The second thing then that is to be considered is, What Authority accrueeth unto Princes, by becoming or being Christians, over Causes and Persons Ecclesiastical. For the Ecclesiastical Historian tells us, that ever since (r) the Emperors became Christian, the Affairs of the Church hanged on them. (s) And *Constantine* the Great challengeth an external Episcopacy over the Church,

(r) *Sacr. Eccl.*  
*Hist. Proem. in*  
*l. 5.*  
 (s) *Ensch. vitæ*  
*Const. l. 4. c. 24.*

Church, which was no doubt his certain right. In which two things are to be considered, The Fountain of this Power, and the Obligation to its practice. For first there is no new Original of power vested in Princes by their meer Christianity, which they had not before, by any Divine Constitution. For the Imperial Sovereignty consisting in a power to compel every one to do his duty by coercive and penal Sanctions, it follows, that by this sole power it may supervise Christians, and make them live by their own Laws and Ordinances, and may require Bishops to do their Office, and to give an account of the Administration, and may call Councils to inform the Prince of the true Faith, and to compose Discords Ecclesiastical within themselves, and such as shall neglect his Royal Command herein, he may justly punish, which is the proper Ecclesiastical Supremacy of even Christian Kings, and this external Episcopacy *Constantine* challenged and used before his Baptism. But then after Christianity is assumed by Kings, they have then engaged into a stricter obligation to execute this power, on this principle of practice that bindeth all Christians, That every Christian devoteth Life, Fortunes, and Powers to Christ's Service, and so to do his utmost to the preservation and advancement of Christianity: And because the Prince hath the greatest power to defend it from all sensible Injuries, therefore is he bound in Conscience to God to interpose his Sovereign power for the promotion of the Churches Integrity: But herein he is subject to God only, not to any Ecclesiastic Censure or Chair of any Bishop, as being himself the proper Judge of what use his Temporal Penalties and Coercions may be to the State, to which he is bound by his Secular Right, and to the Church, to the care of which he is obliged by his Christianity. And therefore I like not that Notion of the

Royal Supremacy, That a King is to supervise the State of Religion only in order to the Secular Tranquillity of his Government; and Priests, as it tends to the Salvation of Mens Souls; but even Princes are to take care so to use their Coereions, that evil Persons being corrected thereby may submit to the Church, and so by the Administrations thereof, may be repaired in their Souls to their Salvation, to which the Bodily Chastisements of God, Kings, and Fathers, Masters and Tutors may be intended and useful; and so far our Lawyers say right, That the King is a mixt Person, tho perhaps I cannot allow all their Judgments grounded on this Maxim. To this power therefore and care of Christian Kings the Bishops are more strictly accountable; for if to Heathen powers we are to be ready always to give an account of the hope that is in us with all meekness, *1 Pet. 3. 15.* because it is an averment of our Lord's Glory, and may tend to the Conversion of Kings and Kingdoms, how much more are we accountable to Kings, who by their Christianity are Nursing Fathers to the Church?

§ 5. Secondly, We are to consider in what Christian Princes are, in the sense of the Ancients, subject to the powers Hierarchical; which is in the meer conduct of their Souls. For every Bishop, within the compass of his Diocese, is by Divine appointment chief Guardian of all the Souls of every Christian in it of what Temporal quality soever, without exception. Which Authority every Prince being adult voluntarily submits to in his Baptism, and if he be baptized in Infancy, is so far obliged by the Grace of God, and the Title unto Heaven sealed to him therein, as not to despise the provision God hath instituted for his Soul in the care and conduct of his Bishop upon pain of Apostacy, and the dreadful consequences thereof at the last Judgment, and



is no more exempt from this duty than any private Christian, his Bishop being a sound Member of the Church Catholic. Now this Government of every Bishop over the Souls of all his Christian Charge, is no other than the Government of a Pilot in a Ship, to which even Kings for their own preservation permit themselves; or that of a Physician in the methods of healing, neither of which are any way derogatory to the Royal Supremacy. So likewise in Spirituals, the Souls of Christians are committed to the care of their Bishops, in order to their eternal Salvation. And for this cause every Prince, that hopes to be saved by his Christianity, ought voluntarily to be conducted in Spirituals by the Bishops that have the care of his Soul; or more largely of all the Church, *i.e.* in all the Discipline preparatory to the saving Graces and Sacraments thereof. But then, if he refuse, the grand Question is, Whether he be liable to any Ecclesiastic Censure, as Excommunication? which the Romanists affirm roundly, and that in equal degree with any private person. For which Opinion we will examin what Grounds or Precedents they have in the primest and most venerable Antiquity. Now in the Church of God there are two distinct degrees, and two distinct manners of Excommunication. The lowest degree is from participation in Divine Mysteries or Ordinances, either some, or all. The highest is, beside the former, an extermination from all common Society with Christians, as not to eat with them, nor be saluted by them, lest we be partakers of their evil Deeds, *1 Thess.* 3. 6, 14. *2 Joh.* 10. And both these may be determined either in the manner of private Prohibition, or of public denunciation. Now I have never met with any Doctrine or Example in all the Primitive times of the Christian Emperors and Bishops, of any public denunciation of any proscribing Sentence against any

Prince.

(1) *Evag. Eccl.*  
*Hist. l. 1. c. 14.*

(u) *Symmach.*  
*Epist. Apologet.*  
*ad Anastas. Im-*  
*peratorem.*

(x) *Basil ad A-*  
*than. Ep. 1. Vide*  
*Aug. Hom. 49.*

Prince whatsoever, till circa ann. 502. in an age of madness, (1) the Emperour *Anastafius* was anathematized at *Jernsalem*, and that (saith the Historian by way of admiration) even while alive, which was one degree of presumption beyond what Pope *Symmachus* would plainly own, making this defence: (u) *We have not excommunicated thee, O Emperour, but Acacius, do thou recede from Acacius, and thou recedest from his Excommunication, and thou art not excommunicated by us; but if thou dost mix therein, thou art excommunicated by thyself.* So that it was so odious a conceit to denounce an Emperour Excommunicate or Anathema, that Pope *Symmachus* durst not own it, whatsoever in truth he had done in it, tho' free enough to tell the Emperour his own, and to defend the Grandeur of his Pontificate. And there is great Reason why there should be no promulgation of a Princes Name under the Censure of his Guilt, because it reflects shame, and that begets contempt and hatred, and these Sedition and Rebellion. So that neither Kings, nor Royal Families, on whom and whose Succession the Honour, Safety, and Majesty of the Crown and Kingdoms doth principally depend, ought to be paradigmized without leave or order from the Prince, but this hath been done by the Church upon inferiour Potentates, when it occasioned no danger to the Secular State. For such was the Discipline used by the Church against the lascivious, wicked, and cruel Præfect of *Libya*. For thus *S. Basil* writes to *S. Athanasius*: (x) *He was certified to our Church by the Letters of thy Piety, and all men will conclude him abominable and execrable, so as to have no communion with him of fire, water, or house, (i. e. of hospitality) Because it is some relief to the oppressed, that such violent Tyrants be condemned by common and unanimous Judgment. The title of his condemnation shall suffice him, and the sentences by which*

which he shall be every where censured. For we will take care that this his condemnation shall be made known to all his Acquaintance, Friends, and Strangers. But if the punishment of God doth not immediately seize him, as it did Pharaoh, yet at last it shall return an heavy and dismal recompence upon him. Of this passage here is no mention of any leave or particular licence asked or given from the Emperour; and it must be closely considered, whether this were done meerly on the Divine Right of their Episcopacy, or by any permission, or authority, explicate or implicate, from the Imperial power. Now (y) Sozomen tells us, that Constantine the Great (y) *Soz. Eccl. Hist. l. i. c. 9.* made it Law, that the Sentences of all Temporal Judges were appealable to the Bishops, whose Sentence was to stand valid and superiour to all Secular Judges, like that of the Emperour's himself. Which power being not retracted might justifie this procedure against the Libyan Præfect. But in all Christian Kingdoms a Non-prohibition from the Prince is to be interpreted to a concession to the Church to use her Discipline on any Subject below the Royal Family; but not against the King himself, or Royal Family, in any public degree of Excommunication, much less in the major anathematizing Degree of it, as not to eat or drink with whom they please among their Subjects, nor to be honourably saluted by their usual Homages, for this is destructive of Civil Government. But the Physician of Souls may, in method of Cure by way of private prescription of Penance, enjoin Kings and Princes to abstain from Society (saving what temporal occasions require) as a proper and necessary expedient to improve godly sorrow for sins, which cannot take root in the midst of a publick Conversation, like fasting or thin dyet to a vitious and distempered Constitution. And in like manner they may charge them in the name of God not to enter.

enter the Sanctuary till the completion of their Repentance. And at last, if a Bishop shall find his Christian Prince either apostatize, or live very wickedly, or impurely, and will not admit him to the *ius paritæ* in Episcopal Admonition, nor reclaim his Impieties, and shall, notwithstanding a personal prohibition or direction to the contrary, enter the Church, and with irregular violence challenge any Ordinance, Mystery, or Sacrament, which he is not fit for, if the primitive Senses and Examples of the purest Times, and the holiest Bishops, be exemplary and imitable Rules; then with submission to better Judgments, I think a Bishop not only may, but ought to deny him those Mysteries, which to unqualified Souls, either of Kings or others, will not be medicinal, but fatally destructive. Thus if a Christian Prince should apostatize to *Mahomet*, and, instead of a reclamation, still persisting in that Apostasie, should require a Bishop to confirm, absolve, ordain, or give him the Eucharist, with a design perhaps to illude and expose these Ordinances and the Church, the Bishop ought plainly to deny him, assuring him that in the case his Soul is in these applications are pernicious, not salutary: and as in respect of God, he is not to prostitute his Mysteries to any unclean person, or appetite, so is he not to destroy his Princes Soul by yielding to his imprudent or irreligious Demands. Thus teacheth the great Bulwark of Piety (2) S. John Chrysostom to his Priests;

(1) Chrys Hom.

83. Matth. c. 26.

If any Commander therefore, or the very Consul, or he that wears the Imperial Diadem, come to the Holy Table unworthily, restrain and repel him. Thou hast greater power (viz. therein) than he. For so, if a very clear Fountain were committed to thy custody to secure it pure for thy Flock, when thou shouldst see rude and filthy Swine approaching, thou wouldst not suffer them to leap into

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into and defile the Fountain. But now whereas the most sacred Fountain, not of Water, but of the Blood and Spirit of Christ, is committed unto thee, wilt thou not be provoked and grieved to see men come thither defiled all over with their sins? And what Pardon canst thou expect of this Contempt? Therefore God would grace us with so much honour, that we may most diligently consider these things. — Therefore let us plainly repel all whom we see coming unworthily, let no one communicate that is not of the Disciples, let no man take the Bread (let the Romanists mark that) with an impure mind like Judas, lest he suffer the like punishment.

— But if any one come in manifest ignorance to the Table, stoutly reject him. Fear God, not Man: if thou fearest Man, thou shalt be derided by him whom thou fearest. But if thou fearest God, thou wilt be venerable with Men. But if thou darest not reject him, tell it to me, and I will not permit it, but will rather deliver up my Life than the Body of the Lord to any one unworthily, and will rather suffer my own Blood to be shed, than grant that most sacred Blood to any unworthy man.

— I say these things, that we may not only restrain, but also correct and reduce them, and take the care of all men. And agreeable to this Doctrine I shall produce two pregnant Instances in Antiquity, that no Wisdom nor Powers, Ecclesiastical or Temporal, ever cavilled at till the prudent days of Reformation, wherein the *Erastian* Factors have always endeavoured to bend the Twig to the contrary extream to gratifie in this point the power of the Sword, more than the Will of God. The first is the Discipline used by *S. Fabian* Bishop of *Rome*, on the first Christian Emperour *Philip* the younger. But to prevent all prejudice against his person, as if what he did was not regular, but an early affectation of too bulky an Authority, I

Q

shall



(a) Euseb. Eccl.  
Hist. l. 6. c. 19.

shall give you the account of his election and his death. (a) After the death of Anteros Bishop of Rome, the Brethren being assembled to vote for a Successor, many excellent Persons being proposed, no one so much as thought of Fabian, who was there among the rest, but of a sudden from on high, the report is, that a Dove flying down directly sat upon his head. Whereupon all the People, by the suggestion of the Holy Spirit, with one cheerfulness and one voice proclaimed him worthy, and set him on the Episcopal Throne. And he went as gloriously unto Heaven, as he was chosen by it, in Martyrdom for Christianity under the next Emperour De-

(b) Euseb. Eccl.  
Hist. l. 6. c. 34.

cius. While then this Fabian was (b) Bishop of Rome, the Emperour Philip, on the Vigils of Easter, desired to communicate with the People in the Prayers of the Church, which Fabian would not allow without putting himself into the Classis of Penitents, protesting that for many Causes and Crimes of his he would never otherwise admit him; to which Penance therefore the Emperour religiously submitted.

(c) Socr. Eccl.  
Hist. l. 7. c. 24.  
Theodor. Eccl.  
Hist. l. 1. c. 17.

The second instance is the famous discipline of the stout Bishop S. Ambrose on the great Warriour and Emperour Theodosius, (c) who having in a rage slain several thousand Citizens of Thessalonica for a tumultuous contempt of his Imperial Government, without any discrimination between the guilty and not guilty, and so contracted the guilt of innocent Blood: He, as he was wont, (saith Theodoret) being desirous to enter into the Temple of Milan, Ambrose meeting him without the Porch, forbade him so much as to enter the very Propylæum, with these words: O Emperour, art thou not yet duly sensible of the great guilt of that Murder, that Massacre, which thou hast committed? nor dost thy consideration, after the cessation of thy rage, discern the heinousness of the Attempt? Perhaps the greatness of thy Empire doth not permit thee to apprehend thy sin, but thy

thy Dominion imposeth upon thy Understanding. How ever thou oughtest to understand Nature, and the mortality and fluidity of it, and the primigenial dust whereof we are made, and into which we dissolve, and not being pamp'ed with the vanity of the Imperial Scarlet, to forget the weakness of that Body which it covers. O Emperour, thou rulest men of the same nature, yea, and those thy fellow Servants, for there is one God and King of all, even the Creatour of all. With what eyes then wilt thou behol'd the Temple of that Universal Lord? With what feet wilt thou tread upon that holy Pavement? How wilt thou lift up unto God those hands that yet drop the innocent Blood? How with those hands wilt thou handle the most sacred Body of the Lord? How wilt thou apply unto thy mouth his most precious Blood, having to gratifie thine anger shed so much innocent Blood? Go away therefore back again, and attempt not to increase thy former sins with new impieties, and accept; submit to the spiritual Bond, to which the Lord God above gives suffrage, for this Bond is medicinal and operative to thy Souls health. The Emperour yielding to these words, as having been educated in Divine Doctrines, and thereby knowing what are the powers of Priests and what of Kings, went back again privately to his Palace, groaning and wailing, and so continued eight months, till the Feast of our Saviour's Nativity, when Rufinus asking him the cause of his weeping, was answered with a bitter cry and many tears, Thou Rufinus art not sensible of my misery, for I groan and lament my Calamity, recounting that the Temple of God is accessible to Servants and Beggars, and they enter with confidence to adore their Lord, but unto me 'tis inaccessible, and moreover the Heaven it self is shut against me. For I remember the words of our Lord in which he expressly saith, Whom ye shall bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven. And when Rufinus promised to atone the Bishop, the Emperour told him, He will

not yield to thee, for I know the justice of Ambrose his Censure, neither will he for the fear of the power Imperial transgress the Divine Law. Yet when Rufinus had extorted Theodosius his leave to pursue this errand, coming in the sight of S. Ambrose, was thus saluted: Dost thou Rufinus imitate the impudence of Dogs, in that having been a counsellor to this Massacre, thou hast quitted all modesty of forehead, and neither blushest, nor fearest, that thou hast so barbarously raged against the Image of God? And when Rufinus intreated his peace, telling him that the Emperour was coming, I foretold thee, saith he, Rufinus, that I will forbid him to enter within the sacred Porch, but if he turn his Royal power into tyranny, I will cheerfully receive the slaughter. Rufinus hearing this, sent Theodosius word of it by a Messenger, and advised him to abide at home. But the Emperour meeting the Intelligence in the midst of the Market-place, said, I will however go on, and bear his just indignation. But when he came to the outer Wall of the Charch, he went not thereinto, but coming before the Bishop, who was in the Salutation Room, intreated him to be loosed of his Bonds. But he called that approach a tyrannical attempt, an insolent rage against God, and a trampling of his Laws under foot. To whom the Emperour replied, I affront not the constituted Laws, I do not desire unlawfully to enter within the sacred Porch: but I desire thee only to loose me of my Bonds, and remember the merciful kindness of our common Lord, and not shut that Gate against me which the Lord hath opened to all that repent. But, saith Ambrose, what Repentance hast thou shewed after so great a Transgression? With what Medicines hast thou healed these hardly curable Wounds? To whom the Emperour replied, It is thy office to prescribe and prepare the Medicine, and mine to receive what is offered.

On which, being prescribed to make a Law, That no bloody Edict should be executed till thirty days respite to advise, and if need should be, to retract it; and the Emperour performing it, S. Ambrose looseth the Bond, and he then enters the Church: where he made Supplication unto God, not standing, or kneeling, but lying prostrate on the Pavement, he uttered that saying of David, My Soul cleaveth to the ground, quicken thou me according to thy word. And lest any should think this Discipline to proceed from an insolent, not a religious spirit, (d) his Epistle written to Theodosius, during this Abstinence, is a sufficient Vindication from this Jealousie: Add not, saith he, sin to sin, and usurp not that which hath been injurious to many Usurpers. I truly, tho' in all other things I am Debtor to thy Piety, cannot be ungrateful—— I truly have no cause of contumacy against thee, but I have af' fear for thee. I dare not offer the Sacrifice, if thou wilt be present. Which may be an Antidote against all prejudice which a further Discipline of his on the same Theodosius may create. For at that time of his Restitution, when (e) the time was come to make Offerings to the Holy Table, he rising from the ground, with the same tears went with his Offering within the Rail or Sept, and there tarried, after his usual manner at Constantinople. But Ambrose, by his Arch-Deacon tells him, that that inner Mansion was peculiar only to Priests, but secluded from all others, and so prescribed to him to go off into the stables of the Livery. This looks mighty huffing, but Theodosius himself magnified it, and would not after abide within the Sept at Constantinople, when invited to it by Nectarius, acknowledging S. Ambrose to be the only worthy Bishop that he knew. For in truth there was a mysterious Doctrine in this Discipline, really becoming the Grandeur and Sanctity of a Priest, in vindication.

(d) Ambros. Ep. ad Theod.

(e) Theodor. ubi supra.

(f) *Julian. ad*  
*Arfac. Pontif.*  
*Galat. apud*  
*Soz. Eccl. Hist.*  
 l. 5. c. 15.

dication of the honour of the true God, which *Julian* would, in imitation of Christianity, have had observed in the Temples, and to the Priests of Idols. Who ordereth *Arfacius* his High-Priest of *Galatia*, among other Rites to observe this also: (f) *Rarely to visit the Secular Governours at their Houses, but for the most part to do his business to them by Epistles: If any Governour enter the City, that no Priest should go forth to meet him, only if he came to the Temple to meet him within the Porch: That no Souldier should go in before him, but whose would might follow him. For, saith he, as soon as he is within the Temple, he becomes a private man: for, as thou knowest, thou governeest the Affairs within, because thus the Divine Law requireth.* Than which Rule nothing can be more wise, more religious, or sacred, than every syllable of these Dictates in relation to the true Priests and Temples of the most High God: and it being the sense of the Christians, as he very well knew, as having had Christian education from a Child, he was willing to cloath his Gentilism with the like magnificence. For what greater and more decent honour can Kings give unto Almighty God, than to lay aside their Crowns and Scepters, and all their *Regalia*, which they have from God, like King *Hezekiah*, when they come into his Presence, where the greatest and only natural Majesty resides, and to admit none of those veneration there which should all be directed to God only? It looks not very religious, because not very humble, to advance any Royal *Insignia* of any man in the presence of the King of Kings. But as all the subordinate Lieutenants of Kings lay down their Swords and Maces when their Prince comes among them, so it becomes Kings to do in the Courts of the Lord's House. Which I offer, not with any design to degrade, but to advance the glory of earthly Kings,



Kings, which nothing can make more illustrious, than the most dutiful submission to God, and reverence to his Priests, that promise never failing, That those which honour him God will honour. And this was the sense of religious Emperours of old, (g) who in reverence to God received the Corrections and Benedictions of Bishops with all reverential Piety; in which *Valentinian* the elder, Emperour of *Rome*, bids the Bishops assembled at *Milan*, to choose an excellent man to that See, to whom the Emperours might bow down their heads sincerely, and receive his medicinal Corrections. I know these things sound harsh to uninitiated Senses, that discern not the things of the Spirit of God, as if they were contrary to the Royal Supremacy over Causes and Persons Ecclesiastical: but this is as much a mistake, as if a man should say, that a King is not Supreme Governour over Physicians, nor Causes appertaining to that Faculty, because the Physicians ought not in obedience to a King's imprudent order to poyson him with giving him such Compositions, as he thro ignorance shall too earnestly require of them, and which they know will be fatal or dangerous to him, and will rather suffer death by his displeasure, than gratifie him to his destruction: Or as if one should say, That the King is not King of a Pilot, who by his duty to his Prince's Life, is not to yield to such a Command of his in the Conduct of his Ship, which will certainly cast his Prince away: Or as if the *Amalekite* were a good Subject in the killing of *Saul* at his Command. Or as if, because a King is to honour the Tutor which God hath given him to direct him unto everlasting Life, therefore he is not King to his Tutor, whereas no man will deny *Aristotle* to be *Alexander's* Subject, because he honoured him more than his Father *Philip*. And lest by this Authority of a Bishop, in de-

(g) *Valentinian*.  
Imp. Episc. Mediol. coact. de elect. Episcap Theod. Eccl. Hist. l. 4. c. 5.

denying his Prince in an unqualified condition the Mysteries of Christianity, any King should be lyable to any Episcopal tyranny or imposture, every King hath the like liberty as in his concerns with any Physician: That is, as when a Physician refuseth to give him any Dose at his command, alledging it to be fatal, the King may consult all the Physicians in his Kingdom concerning the fidelity or judgment of such obstinate Physician, nay and send to foreign Artists for his satisfaction: So may he on such Discipline of his own Diocesan, enquire of all the Bishops within his Dominions, or of the whole Christian world, concerning the Wisdom, Justice, and Piety of his Diocesan's Discipline, and if he finds him by such certain suffrages to have been insolent, he may punish him in temporal respects in the right of his own Supremacy, and require him to be censured by a Provincial Synod, if he continue obstinate.

§ 6. The third thing to be determined is the liberty and rights of the Spiritual and Secular State from each others encroachments and violations. In which I shall lay down the general Rules on both sides, and instance in a few Rights in the Charter Ecclesiastical, leaving the rest to be reduced to the general Rule, by the like parity and analogy of Reason, and so conclude this whole Disputation. First then, no Act or Censure Ecclesiastical is obligatory, if it violates any just Temporal Rights or Powers, and if in any such the Church exorbitate, there is a just ground even for Penal Prohibitions not exceeding the measure of the Guilt, but not otherwise. Which it were to be wished, that all persons intrusted with the framing and judging of Laws, would well consider, and examine whether there be no Errours of this nature in any their Acts and Judgments fit to be repealed or retracted: and that they  
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would allow a Convocation power to make a Canon for the election of a Parish Clerk or Sexton, without fear of a Prohibition on the suggestion and affidavit of two Villains, and a litigious Parish, as if such a Custom was a Temporal Right, and had a Secular original, use, or end, &c.

§ 7. Secondly, No Temporal Christian Powers § 7. have any authority in themselves to usurp, extinguish, pervert, alter, or retard, but only to inspect, and assist the regular operations of the Powers Hierarchical within its own bounds. So that whatsoever Offices thereof are fundamental to the Catholic Faith, Charity, Union, and Government of the Universal, and each particular Church, and were received and practised for such in the Ages before the Empire became Christian, are not to be violated by any Acts of State. For if such violations were accounted Persecutions in Heathen Emperours and Princes, what can they be accounted in Christian ones? Of these Fundamental Rights therefore I shall here subjoyn some momentous Particulars.

§ 8. First then, It was a primitive and fundamental § 8. power and duty of Bishops to convene in Synods without restriction; and upon this liberty (b) the Canon Apostolical requireth the Bishops of every Province 36. to convene in Synods twice a year, and to examin the Principles of Piety, and resolve all Ecclesiastical Controversies accidentally intervening, &c. which was the highest security of Catholic uniformity in Doctrine. The cutting off of which practice (i) Licinnius thought (i) Euseb. vit. Constant. l. i. c. would extinguish Christianity, or enervate its force, and therefore ordains a Law, that no Bishops should mutual- 44 ly communicate or sojourn one with another, nor institute Synods, or Councils, or Considerations for Ecclesiastical Expediencies. — So that here was a necessity either by

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breaking this Law to be subject to punishment, or by obeying thereof to dissolve the Laws of the Church: it being impossible to set aright great and momentous Enquiries without Synods. So that by this Law he endeavoured to divide the concordant Harmony of the Church. Here then the Romanists triumph, that we have no power to meet in Convocation without Royal Licence, nor at liberty, when there, to dispute one Question without the King's allowance, nor are our Conclusions valid without the King's Ratification, whether Catholic, Heretic, Heathen, Turk, or Jew, on pain of hampering by *Præmunires*, &c. But here it is to be remembered, that these are impositions of the State, for which the Church is not bound to Advocate if they are Persecutions: but if men would be just, they would pass the most favourable interpretations on public Sanctions, and herein conclude, that these Statutes were intended, not for persecution, but for caution only against those extravagancies, which the Church had abused its freedom to, the Kings always graciously promising us, on request, opportunities to convene, and discuss our Matters, as to us shall seem convenient, that we might have no cause to think that their Laws are intended for persecution. And for the King's ratification it is justly necessary, not merely to an Ecclesiastical effect, but that our Censures for breach of these Canons may be seconded upon the Contumacious by the Writ *De Excommunicato Capiendo*, &c. it being no reason that the King should be the Churches Hackney without any consent of his own. And the Kings have merited this of the Church by an antecedent honour and security given us against persecution, by making our Bishops Barons, and of the upper House in Parliament, there to defend the Church, and direct the State in all Matters which may

may there be agitated relating to the Church. But if any Prince should pervert these advantages to a persecution, we must then do our duty, and fear no sufferings. I do acknowledge that these Fetters, and the little use that is made of us in Convocation, vilifies us in the eyes both of Strangers and our own People, and especially the *Roman Church*, which can never be more gratified, nor improved, than by this cramping us, which I hope the State for the times to come will well consider; for since now it hath a secure, religious, and learned Clergy, if the Secular Powers will permit us to Synodize in peace, and send our Encyclical Epistles to the Churches of all Countries where we can have access, and give us the advantage of Royal Embassies and Recommendations to the Princes of each State for religious Accommodations, we should, I believe, in no long time, reduce our selves nearer and nearer to the primitive Perfection, and most parts of Christendom, I am perswaded to a Reformation from the Errours, and a Restitution from the Tyranny of the *Roman Yoke*. So that I may (I think) safely say, that the Emulation of the Commons against the Convocations is the greatest kindness to the Papacy, and the greatest Persecution of the Protestant Religion, for which we perhaps have, but surely not the Romanists, cause to complain, for that tho' they bawl and fume against them, they do yet serve their Interest.

§ 9. Secondly, All Ecclesiastical Rights are so Spiritual, that they cannot be by Allowance and Approbation of God or his Church vested in any one in form of a Temporal Right, but only on this Condition, that the Parties intrusted with them continue in the unity of the Catholic Church, and their own Provincial Bishops as Prelates of it, having immediate care of their

§ 9.



Souls. For all powers Ecclesiastical were first in the Apostles, from whom they entirely descended to the Bishops, but both by Apostles and Bishops were permitted, some to Elders, some to the other Clergy, and some to the standing Laity. Thus the Apostles gave the Laity, as well as the Elders at *Jerusalem*, power to nominate seven Deacons, *Acts* 6. which they might have done by their own Apostolic and Episcopal Authority: but this permission was still with a reservation of their own Authority to judge of the fitness of the persons elected in order to the imposition of their hands. So afterward the practice of Episcopal Synods was to admit the suffrage of the Laity, as to the credit and recommendation of succeeding Bishops,

(k) *Orig. Hom.*  
22. in *Num.* 27.

(k) who however had the power to determine, and elect themselves in defeat to the unjust, and sometimes mercenary, Simoniacal clamours of the People. And thus it stood in the days of Christian Emperours; tho' they had a principal care in those managements. And therefore *Valentinian* Senior thus directs the Bishops at *Milan* toward the election of a Bishop for that See:

(l) *Theodor. Eccl.*  
*Hist.* l. 4. c. 5.

(l) *You that are educated in the Divine Word, manifestly know what a man he ought to be that is invested with the High Priesthood. — Place ye therefore such a one in this Episcopal Throne, to whom we Emperours may bow down our heads sincerely, &c.* And none but *Arian* Emperours first forced by penal rigours the Bishops to consecrate such as they pleased, and therefore such Bishops and Emperours are branded for the tyranny of such Settlements by Imperial force, against which the twenty ninth Apostolic Canon is designedly levelled, which saith, (m) *If any Bishop get hold of a Church thro' the Secular Powers, let him be deprived and excommunicate, &c.* It being a Crime contiguous to Simony, prohibited in the twenty eighth Canon Apostolic; and

(m) *Canon. A.*  
post. 29.

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so coupled by (n) S. Augustine: *He that purchaseth a Sacrament, or a Church, or a Prebend, or hath procured this for himself by Secular Power, let him know that he is already condemned with Giezi and Judas: He is already a Leper, and to be expelled the Temple of the Lord, because he enters not into the Sheepfold by the Door, and the Lord casteth Hucksters out of his Temple, as also Lepers. He entreth not by the Door that enters by a Laic Gate. For Spiritual Gifts are not delivered to the Laity, but to the Vicars of the Lord, and the Lord's Vicars are the Successors of the Apostles. Let the Laity order their Castles and Towns, but let them take heed that they meddle not with the Goods of the Church of Hippo: For rich men seldom procure rich Prebends to poor Priests, or if they do, it is not for the love of God, but that they and their Family may have a share out of them. Now these and such like Passages against ancient Corruption, ate by the Enemies of the Church of England laid at her Gate: For, say they, the power of placing Bishops is wholly in the King without restriction, whether he be Turk, Jew, Pagan, or Infidel, and what a fine Constitution it is that such a Prince should be the Elector of Bishops for the Church of God, that is not of its Communion? Nay, and the Lawyers *Nulum tempus occurrit Regi* is here certain Law, insomuch that the King may chuse whether ever he will fill up the Vacancies, and so may destroy our Succession and our Church, we all the while looking on like Dolts, not daring to make any provision for our selves. And the *Mandamus* for Deanries, Prebends, &c. are all cast in our teeth as *opprobria* to our Doctrine of the Kings Supremacy. So that by the Apostolic Canon and S. Augustine, all our Bishops are *ipso facto* Excommunicate from the Catholic Church, and so no part of it, nor we either a Church, or Christians. Let us see then how.*

(n) August. ad  
Fratr. in Erem.  
Serm. 37.

how we can clear up such a stormy Objection. And first, tho' these are the Acts of State, that have put this power into the hands of our Kings, for which the Church is not accountable, yet our submission to these Laws, without any Remonstrance, obligeth us to give account for such submission. And here, first, we may justly say, that we do it to avoid a greater evil, and for the hardness of mens hearts; as *Moses* permitted Divorces against his approbation: For it is more eligible to lose something of our liberty in the election of our Dignitaries, than to lose all Religion, and the very subsistence of a Church. But secondly, let us consider the Apostolic Canon, and we shall find it by comparing it with the *Arian* Tyrannies, to be a provision against Heretics creeping into Bishoprics by favour, simoniacally, or otherwise injuriously procured from the Secular Powers, and this against the consent of the Church, notwithstanding the certain impiety or unsuitness of the man. But the case is otherwise here, for this very Law allows a legal liberty to any person to enter Articles against the Consecration of any such person nominated to any Bishopric by the King, and withal he must subscribe to the Articles of Catholic Religion, and be sworn to observe them, and then this is not against the consent or submission of the Church. Nor is this against the primitive and allowed practices of Catholic Princes; for when the Church of *Milan* all chose *S. Ambrose*, being but a *Catechumen*, for their Bishop, and he absolutely refused it, he could not have been brought to accept it, (o) had not the Emperour *Valentinian* commanded him to be initiated, and consecrated. And in many other instances the Church freely permitted the Emperours to determine the election, provided it was not injurious. Thus (p) the Synod at *Constantinople* gave a Catalogue of worthy men to the Emperour,

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(o) Theodor. Eccl.  
Hist. l. 4. c. 9.

(p) Sex. Eccl.  
Hist. l. 7. c. 8.

one of which he was to nominate, and he nominated *Nectarius* an un-baptized man, and notwithstanding many great Objections against it, yet he stuck to that election, and the Bishops at last, on full consideration, submitted to it. And the truth is, it is no matter who hath the nomination of a Bishop, provided he be a man approved by the Catholic Bishops that are to ordain him, and there be no Objection producible against his Capacity. But whereas they object that our Laws have restrained our Kings, neither to qualification nor time, so that an Infidel hath a right to set up the Pillars of our Church, or he may let it fall, by not erecting, nor permitting us to erect them, that may be an error in our Laws, but it is the Doctrine of the Catholic Church, That no Heretic or Infidel hath, or can have any Canonical right or power in the Spirituals of God's Church: which I doubt not but our Church will pronounce with unanimous suffrage, tho' it may bear such an intrusion to avoid a greater evil, provided the person nominated be fit, Catholic, and unblameable. But if any such Prince should design to dissolve our Succession, we have a Canonical right to preserve our Orders, and can but suffer Penalties, which may oppress, but not null or vacate the validity of our Ordination. And the same is to be said of minor Patronages, that the Patrons, whether Heretics, or others, have as great a right to present as our Statutes can give them; on which I have known a rank Quaker present a Clerk to a Rectory, which having full testimonial, and on due examination was admitted on his Title, yet no man can think that right of Patronage Canonical. For when our Fathers the Bishops granted the rights of Patronage to Lay-men, (that built or endowed Churches, and their Heirs, it must be intended on supposition that such Patron, and his Heirs,

Heirs, should continue in the Unity of the Church : for those Prelates never dreamed of *Quare Impedit* to come to draw down their Episcopal Conscience to to the spiteful Judgment of Twelve illiterate Jurors , who might be pack'd by a mercenary and corrupt Under-Sheriff. Since therefore such perversions of Right do sometimes arise upon these Secular Laws , these things will need some relieving Considerations in duty to God, and with all submission to my Superiours, would be ( I think ) better determined , and more free from scandal, by a consultation of the Provincial Bishops concerning the fitness of any Person nominated to a Bishopric, and the Affair being transacted at the Episcopal City, where the Objections of the Laity, or their Comprobations may be fairly taken, as to the Morals of the Candidate: which was the Primitive Usage of the whole Catholic Church; and by a Consultation of a Bishop with his Dean and Chapter, whensoever he doubts or objects against the Patron; the insufficiency of his Clerk, without any Appeals, Temporal Penalties, or Præmunire's upon God's Inheritance, which it is dangerous for Secular Powers to seize or violate, especially for the Churches doing her duty to God, the Estates not being the Clergies, but Gods: forasmuch as there may be as often occasions to oppose the Royal Commands, or Laws herein, as there may happen Heretical Princes or Patrons, which certainly may have as great a right as our Statutes can give them, but can have no Canonical Right to any Charges Ecclesiastical in the sight of God.

§ 10. The third and last thing that I shall mention, is the Episcopal Right in the Custody of Christian Temples, and other Oblations: which, if we receive



receive the Sense of the Ancients, no Secular Powers can rightly deprive them of, God's Servants being the Keepers of his Charge. For thus the Emperour (o) *Constantinus* desires of *S. Athanasius* one Church in *Alexandria* for the *Arians*, which he denies him by an artificial Grant, on Condition that the Emperour would permit one for the Catholics in *Antioch*. *Arcadius* the Emperour, (p) fearing the tyranny of *Gainas* his *Gothish* and *Arian* General, begs of *S. John Chrysostom*, one Church for *Gainas* and the *Arians* in *Constantinople*, who in a way of discourse most pleasing to *Arcadius* himself answered, That he would never endure to drive out those from the Church, that sung Theological Hymns to the Son of God, for the reception of Blasphemers. And that, which *Constantinus* and *Arcadius* only asked of *S. Athanasius* and *S. Chrysostom*, being demanded by force of Arms and menaces of *S. Ambrose* at *Milan*, by the then *Arian* Emperour *Valentinian* the younger, at the instigation of *Auxentius Mercurinus* the Court Parasite for that Faction, was most happily and resolutely denied against all imaginable Terrours; the History whereof himself gives at large in his Epistle to his Sister *Marcellina*, which being very long, I forbear to translate, but do earnestly recommend the Inquisitive to the place, by which he will see, as the matter of Fact, so the admirable Reasons, and the blessing of God upon it, the Courage being maintained without any active Resistance by Arms, Blows, or Contumelies, the Bishop and his Catholics abiding only in the Church praising and praying unto God, and being ready to receive the Crown of Martyrdom in the Sanctuary of the Lord. And in all other Ecclesiastical Charges and (q) Offerings, tho' tempted to faithlessness in the Sacred Trusts by Imperial Terrours,

(o) *Sacr. Eccl. Hist.* l. 2. c. 23.  
*Theodor.* l. 2. c. 12. *Soz.* l. 3. c. 19

(p) *Theodor. Eccl. Hist.* l. 5. c. 14.

(q) *Ambr. de Off.* lib. 2. c. 29.

rours, yet like *S. Laurence* Arch Deacon of *Rome* and Martyr, and like an immoveable Rock, he kept his station, and weathered out all the Storms, to the final admiration and content of those very Powers which he opposed. There are also several other Ecclesiastical Rights and Fundamental Priviledges of the Hierarchy, more than is expedient to prosecute in a Treatise of this Nature and Design, and fitter for the Compilation of our Colledge of Bishops, or the Provincial Convocations, or our Universities for the information of the State, to prevent all dangerous precipitancy in Acts of Parliament, or Judgments of Civil Courts in matters relating to the Church, for which God Almighty in his good time give them a hopeful opportunity.

§ 11.

For that which can be the only safest Rule and Expedient to inform our Senatours, and satisfie our People, and justifie our Constitutions before all the Churches and Nations of the World, is to collect out the chief Libraries of the Kingdom all Doctrines, Positions, Practices, and Usages universally received in the Primitive Times before the Empire admitted Christianity, digested as it were into sacred Pandects by an exact Citation of primitive and untainted Authorities, together with their Mystical or Moral Interpretations, or Uses given by our Fathers upon all these Traditions. And all such as are of necessary use, without which our Church either cannot subsist at all, or at least in so great Regularity and Perfection as the Primitive, to claim, and labour to establish them in the esteem and practice of our People: and the rest that are not of so necessary moment, not to condemn in any Church, if we think not fit to ratifie them on our selves. But all private, or later Doctrines, not so much as to mention in our

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Fundamentals in order to any positive assent, that no Church, Nation, or Faction may cavil at us for Innovation or Obscurity in any of our Principles of Religion. But as for Negative Articles, we may add such as often as any Innovation in Doctrine may arise among us; which Proposals, what effect they ought to have, or of what good use they would be to us, I leave to the Judgment and Sanctity of my Fathers the Bishops to determine, and to act accordingly as to their sacred Wisdom shall seem expedient.

§ 12. Which Considerations, while I pacifically and impartially offer to the Piety and Wisdom of my beloved Country, I am fully satisfied upon what Precipice I run, *viz.* of Calumny from the Schismatical, of derision from the Chair of Scorners, and of disdain from irreligious Politicians; with all whom we are all Fools for Christ's sake; whose healing Counsels while we dictate to the World, they meet with the fate of *Cassandra's* Prophecies, never to be credited till men are wise too late. I am not therefore so vain as to imagine, that this Essay, or any of my endeavours can be of any publick influence to alter the distempered Complexion of the Nation, since neither the Wisdom nor Power of our Saviour, nor his Apostles, prevailed to the general Reformation of the Jews, to whom our People are too sufficiently alike. But I am not without hope to satisfy the Doubts and Thirsts of the Peaceable and Ingenuous, and to rescue their Souls from Popular and Schismatical Errours, and lead them into the serene and lovely way of Peace. And I am proleptically perswaded, that when the World shall be thoroughly tyred with its own Divisions, the Issues and Parents of all Impieties, that the Rod of the Almighty will open their eyes, to see a necessity of returning to

the primitive Rules, to repair these unkind and detestable Breaches of Christianity, and to extinguish the Flames of these rancorous and dreadful Divisions: For till we are in general purged from our Humours, and reduced to such Catholic Appetites and Counsels, we must never expect the delights of saving Health, nor shall we arrive to that Haven of Rest where we would be. And when the World shall be once so wise as to long for the Peace Ecclesiastical, then Treatises of this Nature may be useful to the healing of the Nations, which whoso endeavours to his utmost to promote, how short soever his Successes are, acquits himself as a good and faithful Servant in the eyes of his Almighty Lord, to whom he must stand or fall in the Day of Account.

*How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the Gospel of Peace, and bring glad tidings of good things; before they are hid from our eyes!*

**THE**

T H E

## Postscript.

UPON the review of these Papers, I had reason to expect ill and ungrateful usage from almost all sorts of Men, notwithstanding the cleanness and justice of the Discourse. For some, that zealously hate the Church of *Rome*, will be offended at me for not railing, but acknowledging that Churches so many primitive Honours, without upbraiding it with its Degeneracies. The Romanists will be angry, that I give them no more Authority than I do, and some of them will be perhaps so far satisfied with what I have yielded to that See in its first Glories, as to think those Glories applicable to their present State, and that we had no reason to Reform, and they have all reason to abandon us in our State of Reformation. Now to take off all such Scandal in all men, I thought it necessary to Postscribe, that I bear malice to no Men or Party under Heaven, but an unconfined Charity toward all; and my design being



being to convert the Romanists from their Errours and Injuries to the state of the Church Catholic, two things were necessary: First, That I should not betray an unchristian Spirit: And secondly, That I should deny them nothing, which Truth, and the Standard of it (*viz.* the Primitive and Catholic Antiquity) hath granted them. For thus they must needs think me a just and honest Arbitrator, and therefore credible for my ingenuous Impartiality. And then secondly, I am hereby secured against any valid Answer or Confutation, to which I had been obnoxious, had I denied or tectly dissembled any Truth, that they may or can justly challenge. So that the result and designed use of all is this: That if the Church of *Rome*, when it was in all its Primitive Excellencies, was not the Fountain of all Catholic Faith, Doctrine, or Traditions, written, oral, or practical, nor the Seat of Ecclesiastick Monarchy over all Churches, Holy Orders, and Princes in all Causes Ecclesiastick, much less can it challenge these Prerogatives, since it hath so greatly degenerated from its first Integrity. So that it must be a piacular Usurpation in that Church to infringe the Rights of Kings, and the primitive and unalienable Liberties of particular Churches; and as piacular a Schism in any single Person, of what order soever, to desert his own particular Church or Bishop, that hath authoritative care of his Soul, (as of all Christian Souls within its Precincts) at the temptation of a foreign and causeless Enemy, that cannot charge the Constitutions of such particular Church with any defect of the Catholic Faith, or Doctrine, that was once at first delivered to the Saints, nor with instituting any Practices destructive of any the Principles or Practices of Christian Piety, taught in the Scriptures, preached by the Fathers, and universally received in the Primitive Church. So that  
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the Foundations of the visible Church being retained in any particular Church, no Member of that particular Church ought to desert its Communion for the admiration of any other Church, tho' it were better than his own, but, when within the bounds of either such uncorrupt Church, to communicate with both. But to change an uncorrupt Church, (I mean as to its Articles and constituted Principles) to which he was immediately subject, for a corrupt one, that is alien, and external to a Man, gives no greater hope of eternal Life, but what (in consideration of invincible weakness of mind) we thus in other cases are faintly wont to express, God in mercy may do much to save him: but of that he hath no revealed assurance, nor the least colour for confidence or probability; for by the Rule every Schismatic is excluded the Kingdom of God, and under Heresie, there can be no greater Schism, than for one Church to send Emissaries into another to seduce its Members from the Communion of their own Domestic to that of a Foreign Church, and for Men to be seduced. For mere Schism hath these two Gradations between whole Churches: First they causlessly divide from each other: Secondly they send Seducers to distract each others Members from their Domestic Unity, which is next Heresie the highest Sacrilege imaginable, in no wise venial, but meritorious of all the highest and most dreadful *Anathema's*. Therefore we perswade no foreign People to set up a Title for us against their own Churches, but only invite all to imitate what is good in us, willing them to retain Communion within themselves, under their Spiritual Fathers, in all things that are not essentially false or evil, notwithstanding many accidental Inconveniencies, which they ought rather to bear calmly, than break the Christian Peace: And the same Justice we have reason to demand

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of the Church of Rome, and all other Churches, that they use no Satirical *disseminations*, intermeddling with our Charge and raising groundless Jealousies and Scandals, in the minds of the weak against their Spiritual Governours, that they attract not the Woes denounced by our Lord, *Matth. 23. 13, 15. Wo unto you Scribes, Pharisees, Hypocrites: for ye shut up the Kingdom of Heaven against Men: for ye neither go in your selves, nor suffer them, that are entering, to go in. Wo unto you Scribes, Pharisees, Hypocrites: For ye compass Sea and Land to make one Profelyte, and when he is made, ye make him twofold more the Child of Hell than your selves.*

**FINIS.**

